The Nation

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The Week

THE House Committee has receded from its untenable position on the censorship provision of the Espionage bill, and the Senate last Thursday saw as hot shot poured into it as any newspaper could wish. So much good has free discussion about free speech accomplished. The result is reassuring as indicating that Congress is not yet stampeded by those who would virtually declare martial law from Maine to California at once. The bill will have to be watched closely during its remaining stages in the House, and the form in which it is before the Senate makes it deserve the severest criticisms with which Senators like Borah and Johnson lashed it. We do not wonder that "at least one high adviser of the Administration was worried over the course the Senate's debate was taking." Even he, however, was forced to admit that the penalizing of an "attempt to elicit" information was indefensible. If the object of the Administration is what it should be, simply to prevent information from reaching the enemy, there need be no difficulty in drafting a measure which will go through both houses without opposition. But the provisions which are incorporated in the Espionage bill arouse the suspicion that much more than this is wanted, nothing less, indeed, than prevention of criticism of the Government in its conduct of the war. If this is not aimed at, why does the Administration push bills which would make possible the penalizing of such criticism?

FROM no namby-pamby theorist comes the following:

> But the real difficulty was, and will be again, to obtain an adequate number of good soldiers. We tried almost every system known to modern nations, all with more or less success—voluntary enlistments, the draft, and bought substitutes—and I think that all officers of experience will confirm my assertion that the men who voluntarily enlisted at the outbreak of the war were the best, better than the conscript, and far better than the bought substitute.

It is the deliberate utterance of that brilliant and seasoned commander, Gen. William T. Sherman. In the second volume of his "Memoirs" he has a chapter on the "Military Lessons of the War," from which the above extract is taken. It might well be pinned in the hat of every rash man who to-day is talking through it about worthless volunteer soldiers. On the main desideratum—the obtaining of an adequate number of good soldiers—there is virtually no difference of opinion in the country. The war may not last long, but all agree that the Government should act so that if it be necessary, six months from now or a year from now, to exert the military strength of the United States, we shall be in a position to do so. The only dispute is about the best way to raise the best army. Mr. Wilson, in his letter to Representative Helvering, of Kansas, referred to the opportunity for voluntary enlistment in supplying the first 600,000 men required to fill up the ranks of the regular army and to recruit the National Guard. But the criticism still may be made that the Administration has put forth no official and hearty appeal for such volunteers. If the President had thrown the last paragraph of his letter into the form of a proclamation to the whole country calling for volunteers, we have no doubt that the response would have been instant and overwhelming. Even as it is, recruits are coming forward at the rate of more than 2,000 a day. Yet all that they have had to move them is the perfunctory announcement from the War Department, the efforts of local committees, and their own sense of the nation's need.

THE President explains, however, that some volunteer who should not. "Men may come from the mines or the factories or centres of business who ought not to come." We do not see why this is not just as true of the first 600,000 volunteers, whose "individual enthusiasm" Mr. Wilson welcomes, as of the second 500,000 to whom he would apply the selective draft. But what we ask is why the recruiting officers and military authorities cannot apply a wise selection in the case of volunteers, as well as in that of conscripts. If a man offers himself for the army who can do better work for his country in a shop or on a farm, it would not demand supernatural intelligence to create a board with power to tell him so and to send him back to his work. For when we get down to the actual facts, we see that the net result of the volunteer system, if honestly and successfully put into effect, would be almost the same as that of the selective draft, as the President explains it. That is to say, under either system the men would be taken *who can best be spared* from the country's necessary work. And it is exactly this class of men who are now volunteering, and who would volunteer in greater numbers if a direct and moving appeal were made to them. Conscriptionists grow very sad as they speak of the wrong of taking the flower of our youth—college boys, and so on. But they are the very ones who would be taken by the President's selective draft. And the reason is plain. Few of them have dependents; few of them are so tied up with the nation's industry and agriculture that they ought to stick to their jobs. Thus the dispute about all this class of soldiers is really a dispute about unrealities.

SECRETARY HOUSTON'S plan for stimulating the production of food is more cautious than the headlines indicate. He would not turn an army of boys loose upon an empire of uncultivated land, but would resort to intensive methods, so as to utilize to the full the land which is now producing. Upon the matter of distribution, he is more radical, although his farthest-reaching suggestions are explicitly limited to the "case of extreme emergency." It is under this head that he mentions Government control of food, including the fixing of maximum and minimum prices. How distant such emergency is regarded as being, however, is sufficiently shown by the attitude of officials towards the proposal to reduce the production of malt liquors or to reduce or prohibit the production of distilled liquors, as parts of Europe have found it advisable to do. Although the Secretary reports that the value of food materials used annually in the manufacture of intoxicating liquor is more

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than $150,000,000, the Cabinet does not consider prohibition a pressing question. We shall all know better what to think when Mr. Hoover has had a look around the country.

SINCE the excess-profits tax bids fair to be extended, it is imperative that it be cleared of its present mystery. "Excess" profits implies some standard of "normal" profits, and this at present is set at 8 per cent. But 8 per cent. of what? Of invested capital. But how is this to be found? Clearly par value of the stocks is not meant. Reproduction costs would merely produce endless disputes, especially in regard to those items which are not reproducible. Such things are "worth what they are worth." If we try to find out the money invested at the inception of the company, plus new capital, less depreciation, we soon become lost in the quagmire of figures. The difficulty lies in this: that capital values depend on income, and that they cannot be found independently of income. What, then, can be done? "Normal profits" is a vague enough term at best, but it can only be approximated with reference to past actual profits. England, according to the *Economist*, has taken an average of two out of the three pre-war years, although the exact nature of her detailed provisions is not clear; Germany is reported to have taken an average of three out of the five pre-war years, excluding the highest and the lowest. Some such plan would seem to fit our need better than the present method.

PRINCE FRIEDRICH of Löwenstein has had a happy thought. He gives it to his fellow-Germans in a pamphlet which he lately published under the title "War and Peace Aims." In it he takes up the question of the indemnities which victorious Germany will exact. The objection has been made that there will not be money enough in the world—certainly not in the exhausted world of the belligerents—to pay Germany's just demands. But the Prince knows how to get round that difficulty. Let the defeated enemies pay, not in gold, but in raw materials. Here is his little schedule:

> England will have to deliver tin and wool, and among her colonies Canada will have to supply us with copper, nickel, cobalt, and leather; Australia with zinc, ore, wool, grain, and frozen meat; the other colonies with jute, leather, fats and oils, rubber, rice, tea, cocoa, etc.; South Africa with gold, and Egypt (if it should remain British) with cotton. France would have to deliver olive oils, various seeds, essential oils, and wine; furthermore, phosphates and cork from Algiers and other colonial produce. Italy would have to give us vegetables, sulphur, raw silk, hemp, and oil, and Russia would have to supply us with wheat, barley, flax, oil cake, leather, eggs, platinum, and bismuth.

It is clear that Prince Friedrich could pass with honor an examination in commercial geography. How high a mark he could get in answering questions having to do with the soul of man—that's another matter.

CONCERNING the actual internal condition of Germany, we have had little to go upon but rumor and second-hand reports. Berne and Amsterdam and Copenhagen are not the surest sources of information about what is going on in Berlin and other German cities. But the repeated assertions that there is trouble with the workingmen have now received conclusive confirmation. Hindenburg himself has been put forward to appeal to the strikers in munition works. It is like the Greek tragedy. Awful things are done behind the scenes, which the spectators are not permitted to see; but the Chorus, or some actor on the stage, by expressions of alarm or horror, reveals the truth. It is in this way that Hindenburg's statement is really more significant than direct news from the interior. The doughty Field-Marshal is now the military idol and hope of Germany. His words carry more weight than the Kaiser's. He has several times before been called upon to come forward in a crisis—as, for instance, to urge a big war loan. But what he has to say against all thought of "revolt" in the workshops of Germany has an unmistakable meaning. The Government is in fear of widespread domestic disturbances. It sees the Russian ferment working. So it summons the national hero and "saviour" to make his appeal. And the notable thing is that the authorities do appeal to the agitators, not threaten them. We hear nothing more of the old talk of the Emperor about "dashing to pieces" the "enemy at home."

IN the fighting in France, and particularly on the British front, a new tactical method is emerging. Instead of a hurricane assault dying down after a few days into the old trench-grubbing and quiescence, we have the attack in waves at comparatively short intervals as measured by the previous rate of progress in trench warfare. Just two weeks after the British assault north of Arras, we had the announcement of a new attack on a wide front, with initial gains of a mile and a half north of the Scarpe as measured from Bailleul to Gavrelle, and a mile south of the river from Wancourt to Guémappe. Still further to the south the occupation of Trescaut measures a similar advance in a few days. The new tactics consist not in trying to squeeze the last ounce of profit out of the first assault, with resultant exhaustion, but in a pause, in bringing up artillery, and in renewing the advance. Part of the plan is the alternating attack conducted by British and French. When Haig stopped to take breath after the conquest of Vimy, the battle of the Aisne began. As Nivelle slows down, Haig begins.

WHEN Gen. Maude entered Bagdad in triumph, he distributed to the inhabitants of that city a wondrous proclamation carefully written in London in advance. It is extremely flowery, urging the people of Bagdad to understand that the British Government does not wish to impose upon them alien institutions, that it is the hope of the British Government that the aspirations of native philosophers and writers shall be realized, and that the people of Bagdad shall flourish under institutions which are in consonance with their sacred laws and their racial ideals. It even adds that there can be neither peace nor prosperity where there is enmity and misgovernment. Of course, this was too good a chance for Irishmen in Parliament to miss, and so Joseph Devlin asked the question whether the Government was not prepared to do immediately for Ireland what Sir Stanley Maude was authorized to do for the people of Bagdad and the whole Arab race. Mr. Devlin's quotations from the proclamation were considerably altered in the printing of his question, the following passage being struck out by the Speaker of the House: "Oh people of Bagdad—Remember that for twenty-six generations you have suffered under strange tyrants, who have ever endeavored to set one Arab against another in order that they might profit by their dissensions." This was another good hit, but Bonar Law, denying the charge that, as Sir Stanley Maude

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is an Irishman, he was probably thinking of Ireland as he entered Bagdad, soberly and solemnly declined to answer Mr. Devlin's question. Wit is still enlisted on Ireland's side.

THE weekly toll of British submarine losses has become so uniform as to give ground for believing that something like a permanent balance has been established between the German attack and the British defence. For the tenth week of unrestricted U-boat warfare the figures indicate a monthly loss of about 300,000 tons; the daily sailings and departures from British ports are absolutely normal, and the proportion of U-boat hits to misses is about the same. Everything indicates that there has been gross exaggeration in the number of submarines which Germany had at her disposal when she began the new warfare, and the number of boats that she turns out from her shipyards. The number of British merchantmen sunk or unsuccessfully attacked the week before last was 43. The number of merchantmen that arrived or left during the week was 4,710. In other words, the U-boats got within striking distance of about one out of every 100 ships traversing the barred zones, a result which far from justifies the common impression of German periscopes forming a close wall around the British Isles. As to the weekly output of three new submarines in the German shipyards, it is to be noted that there has been no increase in sinkings in the course of ten weeks, and this in spite of the more favorable weather and the lengthening days.

THE amount reported from Berlin as subscribed to the sixth German war loan—12,700,000,000 marks, or, roughly, $3,170,000,000—would make the subscription which began on March 15 and closed last week the largest of all since the war began. Such a result was contrary, not only to London's expectation, but to the general expectation in Germany itself. These German loans are limited in amount only by the response of subscribers; but the loan of last October produced but 10,700,000,000 marks, which was the smallest subscription since the spring of 1915. Not only so, but the details of last autumn's operation showed a great decrease in the number of separate subscriptions. Applications for the 200-mark bonds, for instance, decreased 612,000 from the last preceding loan; the proceeds of the entire loan being brought up to their comparatively high figure only by an increase of 574 in the number of applicants for a million marks or more. Furthermore, that loan was very generally described by the official canvassers as "the last loan of the war." We have yet to learn how the large subscriptions to the present loan, if the reported figures are correct, were obtained. One possible sidelight was provided in the Imperial German Bank's statement for the closing week of March, which showed an increase of 4,338,000,000 marks, or, roughly, $1,084,000,000, in the bank's outstanding loans. This was followed in the next week by a decrease of 3,655,000,000 marks, and was doubtless connected with the so-called "April settlements." But the amount of this expansion was wholly beyond precedent, and it unmistakably reflected even larger loans made by the private banks of Germany, and supported over the quarter-day by rediscounts at the Reichsbank.

IN one way the legislative grant of partial suffrage to women by one State after another—Nebraska joined the roster Saturday—will be held an argument for the Federal suffrage amendment for which Miss Rankin and others spoke last week before a Senate Committee. The more suffrage States, the more reason some will see for the only quick, direct, and uniform way to general suffrage. But on fuller consideration it will be perceived to impair the argument by women for an appeal to Federal action—the argument that action by separate States is made intolerably difficult and slow by obstacles embodied in the various State Constitutions. A grant of full suffrage is indeed possible of achievement in some States only after years of wrestling with constitutional barriers. But in many of these the women may get Presidential suffrage and other voting rights by a simple legislative act; action at no less than seven State capitals in the last four weeks has given women full or partial suffrage.

WHILE debate rages on the efficacy of full-crew laws in reducing the number of accidents, a little attention may well be spared the question whether more emphasis ought not be laid on the proper maintenance of track and equipment. In the year ending June 30, 1915, we find 1,507 derailments, of a total of 4,923, due to bad track, switches, ties, or similar defects. This seems a small proportion, but it is recorded that more than half the deaths due to derailments—66 out of 116—and more than half the injuries—1,987 out of 3,061—were traceable to such defects. It is fairer, in discussing roadway, to exclude the accidents that rise specifically from broken rails; if we do this 1,235 were caused by bad roadway, with 42 deaths and 1,177 injuries. In the year ending June 30, 1916, the Interstate Commerce Commission has just reported that 1,461 accidents, resulting in 21 deaths and in 660 injuries, were caused by bad roadway—not counting those which were due to broken rails. This shows a considerable improvement in essential matters: there were more accidents, but only half as many deaths and injuries. But the figures are still bad. The Interstate Commerce Commission is, of course, without power to act even where the investigations it sometimes makes show that a railway is grossly careless in caring for its roadbed; the remedy lies with the States.

THE outcome of the Japanese elections is an indicated working majority of fifty in Parliament for Premier Terauchi. The result is to be contemplated with mixed feelings. On the one hand, it is a setback for the Constitutionalist movement. Terauchi's defiance of the Opposition in the last session was clear-cut, and his victory means a postponement of responsible parliamentary government. On the other hand, Terauchi stands for a policy of conciliation with regard to China, and this has the double significance of a pledge to all other Powers against Japanese aggrandizement on the mainland and a pledge to the Chinese Republic of peace and opportunity to work out its constitutional and social problems. The establishment of true parliamentary government in Japan we can regard only as a matter of time. The ferment which is at work all over the world, which is certain to bring about the democratization of political institutions everywhere, is bound to have its way in Japan also. The Constitutionalist movement was strong enough in Japan even before the Russian overturn. It is fated to win after the war. Terauchi's Ministry may last till peace comes, but even in the interval its majority is not so secure but that the Government will be bound to make some concessions to the parliamentary principle

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Coöperating with the Allies

WE have now been able to welcome the Commissioners from England and shall shortly welcome those from France who are to confer with the Government at Washington. In this personnel there is a plain intimation of the subjects to be considered. These will be diplomatic, financial, military. Mr. Balfour and M. Viviani will surely wish to discuss international relations, the terms of peace, and agreements after the war. The experts in finance will desire to talk about loans and credits. And the generals and admirals will both give and seek information respecting military matters. All this is obvious; and it needs no argument, either, to show that President Wilson is anxious to make American aid to the Allies large and effective. But it is still necessary to ask what are to be the forms and the limits of coöperation with them and what guiding principles our Government is to adopt in defining the status of the United States in the world war.

In the speeches made last week in the House of Commons, on the motion cordially recognizing America's entrance into the war, many things were said flattering to our pride. One note in the remarks of both Bonar Law and Mr. Asquith was peculiarly gratifying. It was the clear admission of American "disinterestedness." We have no selfish objects in the war. Conquests and indemnities we disclaim in advance. Our battle is solely for the law of nations and for the right of self-government. Swift, in his "Conduct of the Allies," spoke of the possibility of a nation entering into an alliance with nothing to gain for itself, but dismissed it as implying a "romantic disposition" not to be expected in counsels of state. And if the United States lives up to its professions, it will be showing the world something new in the motives of making war. It is for our Government, and for the press and the public, to strive to maintain throughout the unselfishness of our intent, so that we may really deserve the praise bestowed upon our national attitude when declaring war.

Is it not plain, however, that American "disinterestedness" carries with it certain inferences regarding our general policy, face to face with the Allies? If we are truly disinterested in entering upon what was primarily a European struggle, we need to guard our independent position. We can be with the Allies, though not of them. From some of their aims we can show our "disinterestedness" by maintaining a prudent detachment. It is not a question of "entangling alliances." George Washington admitted that "temporary" alliances might be advisable for the United States. Nothing of either sort is contemplated now, in any formal way, but the important thing for this country, in or out of an alliance, is to retain a free hand. Rolling up the map of Europe is no direct business of ours. Territorial rearrangements, as a result of the war, are not our affair. The United States may now fairly be expected to sit in the Peace Conference, but it will only be for the purpose of stipulating that the reign of law shall be restored between nations, and that sure guarantees of lasting peace shall be established. Swift argued that England, in the early part of the eighteenth century, should withdraw from the European war, and notify her allies that she would go no further with them, for the reason that she had already attained the *original object* of going to war. There could be no better rule for the United States at present. We should never consent so to tie ourselves up that we could not make peace when we had attained the original object of making war.

It is true that this object is now more clearly defined than it was, and that it is great and weighty. Our just quarrel with the German Government arose over the question of free ocean highways. That the high seas should be made the place to murder non-combatants, neutral as well as enemy, was intolerable to the American sense of justice and of national rights. But behind the acts which drove us to war we now see that there are a conception of government and a military caste which must be broken before there can be safeguards against such acts. It is this system which is the real enemy, and the President in his war message aligned the United States with those who are fighting to liberate the peoples of Europe from the dread of military autocracy. To shatter this is the endeavor that to-day unites us with the Allies. But it is not for us to sink our identity in theirs. We are to give them of what we have, and give without stint, yet our coöperation, when most generous, must be kept within our own control. There is no reason to suppose that the Allies expect or will ask anything more. Their delegates are here to symbolize a unity of purpose, and to take counsel how best to compass it, rather than to invite us to subscribe to the understandings and treaties which exist among them.

"For the Duration of the War"

THE absolute unanimity of Congress in authorizing a war credit of $7,000,000,000—not a vote being cast against it in either house—was doubtless meant to be impressive, and certainly is so. It typifies a pledge of all the national resources, if they are needed. Whether it will quickly convince the German Government of the folly of keeping up the struggle against hopeless odds, we need not inquire. The important thing is the willingness of Congress and the country to do everything that may be necessary to bring the war to a successful conclusion. President Garfield once, in speaking at the dedication of a soldiers' monument, dwelt eloquently upon the majestic appeal which a nation sometimes makes to its sons, to do and suffer and sacrifice all in its behalf. To that appeal Americans are manifestly ready to respond. Convince them of the best way to spend and be spent in their country's service, and they will hold back neither money nor effort.

One thing, however, they wish their Government to keep steadily in mind. Every war measure urged by the President and approved by Congress should be plainly stamped "for the duration of the war." It is emergency legislation which is asked at Washington. The issue of bonds, the authorizing of Treasury notes, the loans, the taxes, the plans for army and navy—all are for the emergency. But it will pass in due time; and we should be far-sighted enough to shape our course so that, when peace comes, the nation will be as free as possible to direct its future in accordance with the needs of that future. At the best, the war will transmit a heavy burden and a political hampering; but we should strive to see to it from the first that the war shall not be permitted to lay a dead hand upon the coming years of peace. The temporary nature of all our war projects ought to be writ large from the beginning.

This is no mere abstract counsel. It is big with definite

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and concrete results. The whole practical administration of the war legislation will be swayed and shaped by the ideas underlying it. Take the financial measures. If we think of them as a sort of independent affair, standing on its own merits, the execution of them will go along certain lines. But if we keep them before our eyes as strictly provisional, purely for the needs of the day, the kind of check and control that we keep over them will be entirely different. The war bonds, for example, will not be flung indiscriminately upon the market. They will be issued only as the funds are required; their term will be made short; their amortization and early redemption will be provided for in advance. Similarly with the new taxes—"for the war only" should be written on every tax receipt. With this point of view from the first, the levies that are to be made can be so studied that they may be lifted as rapidly as they are imposed. The whole financing of the war should be of the emergency and for the emergency, with not one dollar exacted more than is essential, not one continuing national obligation created beyond the strict requirements. It is needless to add that all military plans should be conceived of similarly. We face a great exigency; but no exigency should be dealt with as if it must settle the course and fate of the nation in the long years of its normal life.

It is said that we must omit nothing, and should err, if at all, on the side of providing more money and men than may be needed. No one can say how long the war will last, and we ought to go upon the supposition—the only safe one—that the fullest possible exertion of the nation's strength will be demanded of us indefinitely. Even so, the point we are seeking to make has its force. The duration of the war may be greater than we think, but to limit our war measures to that duration, whatever it may turn out to be, is the duty of the present as it also is our obligation to the future. For, in spite of all the clamor and the unhinging of reason during the past three years, we must still hold fast to the belief that war is the exceptional thing, the abnormal thing, the monstrous, upsetting thing, and that the world's chief business will be more emphatically than ever when this war is over the pursuit of the arts of peace. Let not those arts, then, be unnecessarily crippled by acts done in time of war. Let not needless loads be bound upon the back of labor; let no premature attempt be made to fix the military policy of this country after peace has come. When the blast of war blows in our ears, then, it is true, we have to summon every energy and keep nothing back which our country requires. But even in the excitements of war, it is for sober patriots to look to the future march of the land, and to refrain religiously from placing to-day a single hindrance in the path of those who to-morrow will be pressing on to new and greater developments of a peaceful democracy.

Bryce on the Real Prussian Menace

"HEAVEN save us from imitating Prussia! If we had to choose between such wealth as state control has given to the great business firms of Germany and freedom, let us have less wealth and more freedom. Let us preserve that independent personality and individual initiative to which we owe our achievements." Thus Lord Bryce, in winding up a remarkable address on "The Spirit of Liberalism" before the National Liberal Club in London the other day. Seventy years ago, he said, the toast at all Liberal gatherings in England used to be: "Civil and religious liberty—the cause for which Hampden died on the field and Sidney on the scaffold." Civil and religious liberty in the old sense of the term, he declared, have been completely achieved in England, only to have liberty now facing a new attack from an unexpected quarter. It lies in the demand that the state shall at once step in to "take charge of and direct branches of industry and commerce which have hitherto thriven without that direction—establishing banks, financing enterprises, organizing companies to exploit the resources of tropical colonies, perhaps secretly inspiring those methods of peaceful penetration by which Germany was trying to reduce her neighbors to financial vassalage."

These, Lord Bryce explained, are Prussian methods, for in Prussia the state is all in all, and the individual is bidden to serve it and be absorbed in it. He himself is distinctly not a believer in the old *laissez-faire* school, but he insists that all Liberals must preserve that individual freedom and initiative which have been "the glory and strength of Britain." And of the United States, too, he might have added. Indeed, every word that Lord Bryce spoke might be applied to this country. Facing as we are the passage of an unprecedented spy bill and a proposal to censor the press out of its rightful and Constitutional freedom of utterance, we surely need some commanding voice to bid us beware lest our liberties slip from us at the very moment we are in the war avowedly on behalf of democracy. But it is evident that Lord Bryce is not merely thinking of the temporary suspension or loss of rights during hostilities. He is warning us all against a new autocratic danger—the state. Shall we overturn Kaiserism and Czarism only to find that the state is no longer the servant, but the master, of the people, cunningly entrapping them into the loss of freedom by the lure of industrial and military and civic efficiency?

Such efficiency does exist in Germany. What is the price the German people have paid for it? Lord Bryce is under no doubt. "They have," he says, "been disciplined and drilled and trained to passive obedience, and obliged to take even their morality, if morality it can be called, from their omnipotent state, which knows no ethical rule but its own interests." That is the real danger from Prussianism which menaces America as well as England to-day—that we Americans may be disciplined, drilled, and trained to passive obedience, and take our morality from an omnipotent state; that young Americans shall not only be taught to submerge their consciences, but shall never question for an instant the wisdom of the few men who, temporarily in office, constitute the state. "The king can do no wrong" is to give way to "The state can do no wrong."

Surrenders like these to Prussianism far outweigh with us the socializing of the state everywhere going on under our eyes as a result of this war. This is so serious, this nationalizing of industry and controlling of business, that we shall all be well on the road to Marxian Socialism. Lord Curzon wondered last December if his country realized "the extent to which the British people, the most liberty-loving, the most individualistic, and in some respects the most independent in the world, have parted during the last two years with their traditional rights and privileges." He pointed out how, since the beginning of the war, the railways and merchant shipping had been taken over by the Government, while wheat, sugar, steel, wool and leather, and petrol were

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entirely under Government control. "The compulsory acquisition of property," he stated, "has become almost a matter of daily occurrence," in addition to the compulsory limitation of profits, the fixing of wages, compelling arbitration, and the prohibiting of strikes and lockouts.

Now, Lord Curzon, Conservative that he is, hopes that the country will go back after the war to the old order, and so must we hope that the extraordinary powers being vested in the President shall be marked "for the war only," and disappear with the return of peace. We Americans can take hope, too, when we look back to the Civil War and recall Lincoln's arbitrary assumption of power in 1863, and the dangers feared from the existence of the great war-time army, which so soon vanished. We can with confidence hope that attacks on personal liberty will be but temporary. But against the Prussianizing which Lord Bryce fears and warns us about we cannot be too alert. Vigilance herein is truly the price of liberty, for that Prussianizing is coming not only by statute, but also by a change in the point of view. Those who preach the complete subordination of the individual to the state are the real Prussians and are more to be feared than any spy or any careless editor or any commander of a Prussian U-boat.

The Russian Outlook

THE Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is a new historical phenomenon. There have been military revolutions before this. The establishment of the modern system in Japan in 1868, the overthrow of Abdul Hamid, the downfall of the Manchu dynasty and the creation of a Chinese Republic, have been the work of armies. But the revolution in Russia is the first instance in which an army itself has been revolutionized. Before this it has been a case of military liberty swinging their soldiers to the cause of popular liberty under the old discipline. In Russia the old discipline seems to have vanished; the army has become democratized. The great fortress of Cronstadt is under the command of an elective council of officers. In the armies at the front new codes of obedience are being drawn up by representatives of the rank and file in consultation with their officers. In Turkestan representatives of the rank and file depose their commanders. Revolutions before this have shown fraternization between soldiers and people. In Petrograd there has apparently been amalgamation. The delegates of workers and soldiers sit together as if the army were a great trade-union forming part of a federation.

How has this conversion of an army from autocratic discipline to complete democracy taken place? We know next to nothing here of the origin of the Council of Workers and Soldiers which is claiming virtual control of the new Government. It seems to have been born on the very eve of the revolution, if not, indeed, after its triumph. But one thing is certain: the winning over of the army for the revolution was not accomplished by the mere dramatic act of the populace of Petrograd kneeling before the Czar's regiments and imploring them not to shoot. There must have been preparation. The raw material for revolution was there. It has always been a puzzle why so many daughters of the Russian aristocracy should have been among the pioneers of Russian freedom, while their brothers in the army have never threatened the power of the autocracy from within. The answer is that the revolutionary gospel has had its advocates in the army, too, from the first. Military officers took part in the revolutionary movement under Alexander II; but it was as individuals. Within the army the forces of reaction were too strong. The war may have helped things by killing off tens of thousands of the old-school officers, and filling their places with reserve officers from the universities, the professional schools, and the civic professions. The leaven was increased. But more than that, the disappointments and failures of the war shook the old discipline to its foundations. Officers with no special predilection for revolutionary ideas could yet have no affection for a corrupt, inefficient, and anti-national régime. During the long winters in the trenches the revolutionary propaganda made enormous headway.

Yet it is obvious that in arrogating to itself all the credit for the overthrow of the monarchy, the Council of Workers and Soldiers is claiming far more than its due. Without the constitution of a National Provisional Government from among members of the Duma, it is far from certain that the army, for all the revolutionary ferment within its ranks, would have been won over to the cause of freedom. There might have been popular insurrection at Petrograd. Perhaps the garrison of the capital would have gone over to the revolution. But there would have been no such unanimous conversion to the new régime by all the armies in the field if there had not been a Government of national character to serve as a rallying point. To a Government entirely made up of Socialists and trade-unionists there would not have come from Gen. Russky, from Gen. Brussilov, from the Grand Duke Nicholas in the Caucasus, the prompt acceptance of the revolution which forced the abdication of the Czar. Without men like Lvov, Milyukov, Rodzianko, Gutchkov, at the head of the movement, there would have ensued civil war at Petrograd, and we might have witnessed by this time the march of counter-revolutionary Russian armies upon the capital.

This is not to deny that at present the advantage is with the radicals. They are justified in calling themselves the only organized revolutionary element in the sense that they have the power to bring physical pressure to bear upon the seat of Government through the army and the workers, whereas the Duma members represent unorganized and distant constituencies. But in a prolonged contest the case would be far different. We need only imagine the Provisional Government retiring to Moscow and issuing an appeal to the people and the army to see what would happen. If, nevertheless, the Provisional Government quietly submits to the claims of the radical Council, it is for the very reason that the Government consists of men with an eye to consequences, facing men who conceivably would not shrink from going to extremes involving the ruin of the entire liberal cause. The Provisional Government is possessing its soul in patience. It is waiting for hot heads to cool.

And, as a matter of fact, while the situation is by no means secure, the forces for common-sense among the radical revolutionists are asserting themselves. Concessions the Provisional Government undoubtedly must make. It seems certain, for instance, that the principle of no annexation and no punitive indemnity after the war must be accepted. But immediate peace with Germany on any terms has been rejected by the most prominent leaders of the workers and soldiers themselves. The resolutions passed by

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their Congress last Monday were arrogant in the extreme; but a good deal of that is window-dressing. We may take it that in a quiet way the Provisional Government is taking its measures against the demands of the fanatics. If returned exiles like Nicholas Lenine are clamoring for proletarian revolution and an absolute abandonment of the foreign problem, the presence in Petrograd of Plekhanov, the father of the Russian Social-Democracy and a partisan of the Allies, must exercise a stabilizing effect. The visit of the British and French trade-unionists works in the same direction. The presence of Jules Guesde in Petrograd is a sign that Russia will not abandon France. The departure for Russia of Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions in the Ribot Cabinet, and a Socialist, is an event of importance.

Wagner and Prussia

GERMAN opera was banished from the Metropolitan Opera House in 1891. It had been installed there because the first season of Italian opera in that house had resulted in a deficit of more than $250,000, even though the list of singers included Nilsson, Sembrich, Scalchi, Fursch-Madi, and Stagno. During the seven years of German opera Wagner was the alpha and omega of the repertory; under the guidance of Anton Seidl, whom Wagner himself had declared the greatest of his interpreters, and with the best of German dramatic singers, headed by Lilli Lehmann, these operas and music-dramas were performed in a manner equalled in no German capital or even at Bayreuth. On the stockholders, however, and some of the subscribers, this predominantly Wagnerian pabulum gradually palled, and there was great joy among lovers of Italian and French operas when it was announced, twenty-six years ago, that they would be restored to favor and Wagner relegated to the background. But, alas! the great tenor, Jean de Reszke, who had been brought over with the view of helping to exorcise the devil, presently became an ardent Wagnerite himself. He insisted on the restoration of Anton Seidl, and in a few years the Wagnerian repertory was again in full swing, with Jean as the greatest Lohengrin, Tristan, and Siegfried the world had seen and heard.

When Mr. Gatti-Casazza, seven years ago, was appointed manager, a cry of fear went up that Wagner surely would now be eliminated. But this Italian, aided by Arturo Toscanini, had done missionary work for Wagner at Milan, and he had not the slightest intention of neglecting him over here. Year after year that composer led the repertory. During the season which closed on Saturday, Wagner's operas were performed thirty times, Verdi and Puccini coming next with nineteen each. For financial reasons alone it is difficult to see how the Metropolitan could get along without Wagner's works. For artistic reasons they are indispensable, as few would now deny that they are the greatest of all musical works for the stage. Yet a serious effort is being made to banish Wagner and the German singers next season because of the war. The fact is ignored by such partisans that during the season just ended, though it overlapped the war, no demonstrations whatever were made indicating a hostile attitude on the part of any of the subscribers or other patrons. In England, where there was an inclination after the beginning of the war to boycott all German music, better counsel soon prevailed, and a few weeks ago, in one of the English cities, the subscribers to an opera season voted overwhelmingly in favor of including Wagner in the repertory. Shall we be less rational than the English? Shall we throw out Mozart, or Humperdinck, the composer of fairy operas dear to adults as well as children, or Richard Strauss, who refused to join the German denunciations of the music of "Allied" composers?

In the case of Wagner there is a special reason why the exclusion of his works would be irrational, because he himself was a victim of Prussian ruthlessness, which embittered many years of his life and which to this day arouses the indignation of those familiar with the facts. His "Tannhäuser" was at first refused at the Royal Opera in Berlin on the ground that it was "too epic," and when he persisted in urging its claims, he was advised to make his Majesty acquainted with it by arranging selections from it for military bands, which he—strange man—considered a "humiliation." But this was only the beginning of the insults heaped upon him. His "Rienzi" and "Flying Dutchman" had been so badly performed in the same city that only three or four repetitions of them could be given. To avoid a recurrence of such a result he insisted that Liszt should conduct "Tannhäuser"—and Liszt offered his services free—but as this would have been contrary to all military rules and regulations, and an insult to the mediocre local conductors, the offer was declined, and when Wagner insisted, the score was returned to him. Liszt finally was kindly allowed to assist at the preliminary rehearsals with piano, and the opera was produced, but the fight to force it on the Prussians lasted ten full years, and Berlin did not hear his masterwork till forty other German cities had acclaimed it.

One would suppose that after this blunder the Berliners would have been more rational, but the same farce was repeated in the case of the Nibelung dramas. The manager was quite sure that of the four the only one that would interest his public was the "Walküre." He objected again to Wagner's conditions, one of which was that Anton Seidl should conduct the performances. It was impossible to reach an agreement, and the Ring of the Nibelung, rejected by the Royal Opera, finally was given in a private theatre by Angelo Neumann's company. Moreover, when Neumann took this same company from Florence to Rome, the Italian Government charged him only one-quarter the regular railway rates ($400), whereas the Prussian officials demanded $1,500 for the short trip from Breslau to Königsberg, refusing to give the discount usually allowed to theatrical companies!

After the Franco-Prussian War, Wagner wrote his inspiring "Kaisermarsch," which he thought might be played when the army entered Berlin. But the authorities had no use for him; they had made other arrangements, and the greatest musical genius of Germany was snubbed again. A few years later, when he was busy with his plans for Bayreuth, he wrote to Bismarck to enlist his sympathy and aid, but that statesman did not even deign to answer his letter. Why should he, when the periodical with the largest circulation in Germany declared that the German nation had "absolutely nothing to do with the Bayreuth performances"? Wagner was born in Saxony; he more than once thought seriously of emigrating to America. Would it not be superlatively absurd now for us to banish him as a Prussian?

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The American Tradition and the War

THE past months have witnessed a rebirth of American patriotism. Many of us had been taking the United States almost for granted. It had been to us something like a club in which we were members by right of birth—a club in which we paid our dues as a matter of course, on behalf of which we accepted our casual slight responsibilities more or less grudgingly, and to which we paid comparatively little attention: the purpose of the club was something so vague to us that in the pressure of our other interests and occupations we lost sight of it entirely. But now, suddenly, the fact has come home to us that we are greatly responsible to our nation, and that this responsibility cannot be evaded.

Our sentimental affection for the flag takes new hold of us. Everywhere up and down the streets we see it shaking in the wind; since February 3 "every day has looked like Washington's Birthday." We hear our national anthem played after performances at the theatre, as the English have always been wont to play "God Save the King"—but with the fervor of novelty. We feel a tingle down our spines when "America" is sung in church and at concerts. Perhaps we hitherto have held nationalism to be something artificial, the by-product of monarchical and imperial ambition; a useful but dangerous force destined to give inevitable precedence to a saner internationalism. Yet in the face of war clearly the first great need is for union and loyalty. And it is not strange that each of us asks himself what this loyalty should be, how it should be manifested, and exactly what it is to which he must be loyal. Americans must stand together—that is clear; but where? They must work together; but for what? Now more than ever, if we are to fulfil our national promise, we ought to take stock of ourselves as a nation and inquire what America means to us and in what direction our loyalty should lead us.

What, then, is the American tradition? Our national shortcomings have been advertised only too loudly since the beginning of the European war. We know only too well that our democratic philosophy has had a way of proceeding sentimentally from the hypothesis that one man is as good as the next—"and probably better"—to the lazy conclusion that vulgarity and incompetence are normal, that special intellectual equipment may be discounted, that second-rate work is as good as first-rate work. America lavishes as much praise on the man who "gets away with it" as on the man who knows his subject. Americans have too often sacrificed the finer things of life to their fetich of getting along. We have been a self-willed, thick-skinned, provincial people; our ears have been too full of the noise of our self-praise to hear the advice of others; our eyes have been too fixed upon the present to look back at the lessons of history and the accumulated wisdom of the past. We must admit that we are undisciplined, careless of law, too ready to disrespect authority and upset orders. In great measure our democracy has been ineffectual, and our blind optimism has allowed us to surrender too easily to the irresponsible commercialism which has grown up around it.

But every sensible person knows that there is another aspect of our experiment in democracy—its idealism. If our nation has to its discredit the foolish contention that all men are equally fit to hold responsible office and to discharge special duties requiring special gifts, it has to its credit the overwhelming emphasis which it has placed upon the common humanity of all mankind, on the equal right of high and low—founded on that common humanity—to equal justice, equal education, equal opportunity, and the protection of the law. We may not have been the home of the brave, but in a real sense we have been the land of the free. West of Ellis Island the oppressed of many nations have found not only that freedom to worship God which the Pilgrims sought, but freedom from social restrictions and religious persecution. American women have come nearer receiving their economic due than those of any European nation. The youth of America have been independent of their elders—trusted to conduct themselves decently and choose their own vocations—to an extent hardly believable to most Europeans. We have prided ourselves upon the right of free speech and a reasonably free press. Although slavery had a long life in the South, and virtual economic slavery persists in many localities, it may fairly be said that the great figure with uplifted torch in New York harbor represents a characteristically American ideal.

Again, an unexampled faith in the good intentions of the ordinary man has made Americans tolerant. Europeans have laughed at us for our ingenuous hospitality, our credulity. We have proved an easy mark for the impostor and—it may yet be proved—for the spy. But if our unworldliness has made us easily duped, if our hatred of bigotry has softened us to religious indifference, at least it should be remembered that they have kept us from disillusion. The spirit of America has remained the spirit of youth—eager to try everything new, willing to give a place in our American sun to other races and other creeds.

And our American faith in government by consent of the governed has been so real that we have succeeded, more than any great nation living to-day, in carrying over into our national foreign policy the principles of honorable individual conduct. Our happy-go-lucky, boorish, shirt-sleeve diplomacy has in the main been fair to other nations. It is not only because the farmer of Podunk has been more interested in Podunk than in Paraguay that we have resisted the imperial temptation. We have done the right thing by Cuba and China and the Philippines. We have gone far to set ourselves right for our acquisition of Panama by disclaiming exemption from the payment of canal tolls. The vigor with which we condemn the blunders and evasions of our recent policy in Mexico should not blind us to the proud fact that throughout our Government has been honestly trying to do what would be best for the Mexicans—a policy of national altruism without a parallel. The Monroe Doctrine has grown into Pan-Americanism—a movement which promises to set us farther on the road towards a brotherhood of nations than we have ever gone before. One does not have to deny our provincial astigmatism and our spread-eagle cant to conclude that the American spirit has been nearer the spirit of friendliness and forbearance, the spirit of Christ, than that of any other great nation on the face of the earth.

Now these American traditions of democracy and liberty and tolerance and self-government are confronted by war.

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They justify us in going to war. We stood aside from the European conflict long after certain elements among us passionately urged us to go in; and we stood aside not merely on account of our readiness to talk ideals rather than to live up to them and our increasing callousness to the sight of suffering and disaster—although it must be admitted that there were times when these faults seemed to be bringing about a paralysis of our national moral force—but because we believed that if Germany had offended us greatly, she had done so for the very human reason that we got in her way when she was struggling in a war which was none of our making. We made excuses for her barbarity: she was fighting for her life against a starvation blockade, imposed by an enemy that had herself overridden international law. We tried all peaceful means to win Germany over to a lawful attitude towards the rights of non-combatants. Patient to a fault, for a while we had partial success. But Germany's decision of January 31 added the last straw to the burden of our conviction that her initial aggression, her invasions of neutral territory and neutral rights, her absolute sacrifice to her imperial ambition of every moral scruple, made her the greatest obstacle between us and the sort of world we wish to live in. We knew that a Germany unrepentant would be incompatible with the American ideal. President Wilson had been preaching a new international order, which many of us thought a remote vision, but all of us knew to be a splendid vision; and it was inevitable that our first step towards that new order must be to protect the life of civilization as best we could against the German outlaw.

Our cause, then, can give us a calm conscience. But that is not enough. The question is whether we can remain true to the American tradition in time of war. War necessitates organization, system, routine, and discipline. The choice is between efficiency and defeat. Pork will have to go. Government by "deserving Democrats" will have to go. The executive side of the Administration will have to be strengthened by the appointment of trained specialists. Socialism will take tremendous strides forward. A new sense of the obligations of citizenship will transform the spirit of the nation. But it is also inevitable that the drill sergeant will receive authority. We shall have to give up much of our economic freedom. We shall be delivered into the hands of officers and executives who put victory first and justice second. We shall have to lay by our good-natured individualism and march in step at their command. The only way to fight Prussianism is with Prussian tools. The danger is lest we forget the lesson of Prussia: that the bad brother of discipline is tyranny—which our fathers fought to put down and our immigrants came to our shores to escape. It would be an evil day for America if we threw overboard liberty to make room for efficiency.

We shall have need of our traditional tolerance also. Already one can see the tide of feeling rising. Not long ago twelve Senators gagged the President's armed-ship legislation. Surely they were mistaken, surely their action was unfair and dangerous to the welfare of the country, but surely, too, it is a sign of bad temper to impugn their motives. Yet two New York papers of great influence and prestige classed these Senators with Benedict Arnold, and according to a press report the mention of their names at a fiery mass meeting in Carnegie Hall brought forth shouts of "Hang them!" One sees sensible people honestly suspecting the most transparently honest pacifists of conspiring on behalf of Germany. In their turn the pacifists are heard to accuse the war party of being bought with British gold. The situation is as old as the hills: two people disagree, lose their temper, and through inability to see each other's point of view accuse each other of the basest motives.

What we have seen, it is clear, is only a beginning. Hatred will spring up quickly when American blood has been shed in war. Sensationalism will spread the German spy scare. Every suburban gossip will have her story of such-and-such a German-American's concrete tennis court and three-inch gun. Reprisals against loyal Americans of German birth will be advocated, and, one fears, frequently effected. We may have our own Liebknechts thrown into prison, our own Haldanes scorned by public and press, our own conscientious objectors punished, our own Bertrand Russells expelled from our university faculties. If there is a censorship, it will be stupidly managed, and to its aid in making people bigoted will come the censorship of fear: newspapers and magazines do not dare advocate the unpopular cause at a time when passions run high. With all these forces working for intolerance, greater than he that ruleth a city will be he who keeps his American kindliness, his perspective, his quiet intentness upon justice.

Finally, the unselfishness of America, as well as her liberty and democracy and tolerance, is to be put to the test. Living apart from the European family quarrel, we have hardly been exposed to the germ of imperial expansion. War will set this temptation squarely before us. There will be many who will want us to have our share of the fruits of victory and will bring out convenient arguments for our justification. "Can a proud nation lay down its sons for nothing?" they will argue. "Are we to have a seat at the peace council only to talk piously about the rearrangement of the Balkans and the restitution of Belgium? We went to war for America, not for any European nation, and everybody with red blood in his veins wants to see America paid in full. Let us show that we are a world Power and not John Bull's hired man. To the victor belong the spoils. America first!" It is well, then, that the President in his address to the Senate on January 13, in his second inaugural, and in the great war address of April 2, stated for us very clearly the principles to which we are to hold fast; and it would be well for us all, as a measure of moral preparedness, to make up our minds now—while the test is only beginning—that though we go into war whole-heartedly and to the limit of our strength, we nevertheless seek no territorial gain, no indemnity, no opportunity save to defeat the enemies of civilization and to cast our weight in favor of a just distribution of European territory and a peaceful association of the nations of the world.

To wage this war merely for the defence of American rights would be a short-sighted policy; it would be to forget that patriotism is not an end but a means, the end being universal righteousness. To allow our purpose to include anything inconsistent with our national ideal would be a base policy. The only noble policy is to hold steadily before us our responsibility to the new world which we are trying to make possible, and to act throughout the war in accordance with the American tradition of democracy, liberty, tolerance, and national unselfishness. To that policy every one of us ought to recommit himself, so that in the test of war we who are a nation great in promise may be a nation great in deed.

FREDERICK LEWIS ALLEN

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London's Drama of Ideas in Winter Quarters

THOUGH the drama of ideas is still hibernating and unlikely to awaken until the war is over, the drama of commerce has been fairly active since the new year, and one or two successes have been scored. The most notable, perhaps, is a fantastic play by Mr. Monckton Hoffe, entitled "Anthony in Wonderland." Its idea, in cold print, sounds elaborately foolish, but the author and the actor (Mr. Charles Hawtrey) manage between them to procure that temporary paralysis of critical judgment on the part of the spectator, that inhibition of common-sense, which is half the secret of theatrical, as distinct from dramatic, art. Anthony is a young man to whom an immense fortune has been bequeathed on condition that he marries within a certain time. He has no theoretical objection to marriage; but he bestows his idealistic affections upon pictures, statues, cinema heroines, and takes no interest in real women. His friends call in a psychological "straightener" to deal with this peculiar case, and that ingenious gentleman administers to Anthony a drug which he declares possesses the property of begetting the most marvellously vivid and romantically beautiful dreams. In reality it is a harmless opiate, which enables the soul-doctor to transport his patient to a glade in Surrey, where a company of film actors (including, of course, a charming heroine) are carrying out a sensational drama of the Wild West. Anthony, whose evening dress has meanwhile been exchanged for cowboy costume, awakens in these strange surroundings, takes part in the prearranged drama, which naturally includes the rescue of the adorable heroine, and believes all the time that he is living in a wonderful dream. The humor of the thing lies in his constant recurrence to this idea and in his wonder at the fertility of invention and the heroic intrepidity which he believes to be generated by his sub-conscious self in his sleeping brain. It is needless to say that he falls in love with the heroine and is quite reconciled to marriage when he finds that this fascinating figment of his brain is a real and accessible woman—the daughter, in fact, of the soul-doctor. I do not know whether the author intended to conceal any philosophical idea in his fable, such as ingenious critics find in "La vida es sueño"; but if so he has concealed it only too effectually. Perhaps it was dropped overboard at rehearsal—for it appears from certain legal proceedings that Mr. Hoffe complains of changes made in his text by a high-handed management.

Another moderately entertaining play is "The Double Event," written by Messrs. Sydney Blow and Douglas Hoare for one of our cleverest actresses, Miss Ethel Irving. The heroine is the daughter of a country parson, who comes to London and is supposed to make a great success as a painter. In reality she knows nothing about painting, but possesses a quick head for that branch of mathematics known as bookmaking and has established a successful betting agency. She keeps the source of her prosperity secret, not only because it would shock her father's parish, but because it would get her uncle, who has lent her a little capital, into terrible trouble with his termagant wife. She is proud, not to say vain, of her success, and thus piques a rather masterful admirer of hers into trying to take her down a peg. He "rigs the market" against her, if the expression be permissible, brings her to the verge of bankruptcy—and then marries her. I do not know whether the authors supposed that they were producing a modern "Taming of the Shrew" and demonstrating the inherent superiority of the male sex, even in turf "speculation"; but if so, the demonstration seems to me singularly incomplete. The great scene of the play is one in which the heroine, her managing clerk, her father the Vicar, and her uncle the Puritan execute a fantastic quartet upon four telephones in a vain attempt to save her from disaster by "hedging." It is an irresistibly bustling episode and must have been appallingly difficult to rehearse.

Sir George Alexander has produced at the St. James's a three-act play by Mr. Louis Parker, entitled "The Aristocrat." I am tempted to conclude from its reception that a new generation of playgoers has grown up to which the French Revolution is something of a novelty. To old stagers like myself the Reign of Terror is synonymous with the Reign of Tedium. We have seen more people led out to execution than actually suffered in 1793; and they all went through the same motions, played the same game of cards while waiting for the tumbril, showed the same haughty insouciance, were received with the same howls by the mob of sans-culottes at the prison gates, and in fact carried out a stereotyped and obligatory ritual. Nor must it be forgotten that it was very seldom the person actually condemned who was guillotined—it was almost always some one who heroically took his place. The whole ritual is conscientiously performed in "The Aristocrat," except that after a gentleman has made all arrangements to go to the scaffold in lieu of somebody else, the 9th Thermidor opportunely intervenes and vicarious executions are "off." Mr. Parker's play, however, is well enough put together, and one can quite understand its having a certain amount of attraction for any one who has not seen it all a score of times already. I read the other day of an old French lady, about the middle of last century, who was asked for her reminiscences of the Reign of Terror. "There has been a great deal of exaggeration about it," was her reply. "All I know is that my mother's Thursday evenings went on just as usual." Why should not some daring dramatist give us "A Thursday Evening during the Terror"?

But if "The Aristocrat" is mildly anodyne, what is one to say of "Remnant," a three-act play by Messrs. Michael Morton and Dario Niccodemi, produced by the Vedrenne and Eadie management at the Royalty? It is hard to recall a more exasperating piece of childish sentimentality. Perhaps I resented it the more because the audience seemed to love it, and it is discouraging to find one's self, to all appearance, in a minority of one. This is a common enough experience at farces; one is prepared to make large allowances for vulgarity, which is, after all, only "the behavior of other people"; but when one comes up against sheer imbecility of judgment on the part of the public, one is seized with a black pessimism in regard to the prospects and possibilities of English drama.

"Remnant"—it sounds like a bad translation—is the name given to a girl-waif of the Paris streets, supposed, I imagine, to be seventeen or eighteen years of age. She has never known any other name; she has never had a home; she has the fullest claim to the title which some one gives her of "guttersnipe." But she is a creature of absolutely angelic innocence; she has, as the hero tells her, "fluttered her white wings in the mud without soiling their purity";

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and she is, moreover, ignorant of the facts of life to a degree which would be incredible (and undesirable) in a girl brought up from childhood in a nunnery. Now all this is flatly, flagrantly, ludicrously impossible. I freely admit the rights of imagination. If you choose to bring an angel to earth, as Mr. Wells has actually done in one of his romances, I am quite willing to grant you that initial assumption, provided you make something interesting and attractive out of it. But if you tell me that your angel lived for eighteen years in the slums of Paris and neither heard nor saw anything that smirched her innocence or opened her eyes to the realities of life, then I say you are no longer appealing to imagination, but to silly credulity, and I decline to respond to your appeal. "Remnant," of course—the story is a threadbare one—attaches herself with dog-like devotion to a young man of genius who has spoken kindly to her, rescues him from slavery to a horrible virago who has got him in her clutches, and, in the end, folds her unsullied wings in the dovecote of domesticity. The workmanship of the play is extremely commonplace and lacking in plausibility; but it is the pretentious falsity of the sentiment inspiring it that seems to me unforgivable.

The side-show enterprises have been rather busy of late, but not to any great purpose. The Stage Society has given two performances. At one of them Synge's delightful "Tinker's Wedding" was accompanied by a one-act trifle by Mr. Bernard Shaw entitled "Augustus Does his Bit"—a satire upon aristocratic incompetence in military and other matters. It was fairly amusing in a rather obvious fashion; for Mr. Shaw excels in drawing a ninny, and is never happier than when he can put him in khaki. But there are some things for which war destroys one's palate, and Mr. Shaw's persiflage is one of them. After the war, those of us who are still above ground will no doubt relish our Shaw again; but in the thick of its storm and stress he somehow seems an incongruity. His whole habit of mind is out of place in such a crisis; and I cannot but think that an uneasy consciousness of this fact leads him to exaggerate his foibles, and to assume an aloofness, not to say a callousness, which he does not really feel. He gives one the impression of caring for nothing so long as he can crack his joke and exhibit his *Besserwissen* on every conceivable topic. I am sure that in this he does his real nature injustice. He is simply the victim of an ineradicable habit of mind which happens to be sadly out of place in war-time. In days like these, it is surely a maxim of plain common-sense that he who cannot say anything helpful had better hold his tongue; and anything less helpful than "Augustus Does his Bit" it would be hard to imagine.

At the second Stage Society performance "Good Friday," by Mr. John Masefield, was presented—a one-act play in rhyme, condensing into an hour or so the chief incidents of the trial and death of Jesus, as seen from the point of view of Pilate. Mr. Masefield is one of those dramatists who either hit the bull's-eye or get right off the target, and I fear that in "Good Friday" he has made a rather bad miss. The motive inspiring it is hard to divine. Sometimes one thinks that the poet has taken a hint from Anatole France and is trying to represent the death of Jesus as a trivial incident in the official life of a Roman proconsul. There are touches of realistic commonplace throughout that seem hard to reconcile with any other theory. But then again there are passages which seem to assume the presence of miraculous agencies and influences. Longinus, the centurion, for instance, returns from Calvary with a lurid story of the crucifixion and profoundly convinced that the central figure was divine; whereupon Pilate's comment is:

> No man can stand an earthquake. Men can bear
> Tumults of water and of fire and air,
> But not of earth, man's grave and standing ground:
> When that begins to heave the will (!) goes round.

And we are apparently left to take our choice between Longinus's conviction of miracle and Pilate's theory of meteorological coincidence. In one respect Mr. Masefield's technique is very peculiar. When I saw the play, it seemed to me that in one scene Jesus must be supposed to be present, though his name does not occur in the list of characters and no dialogue is assigned to him. I hoped to find the mystery explained on reading the text; but no! It seems to be purposely left in doubt whether Jesus has or has not appeared in person on the scene. There are scattered passages of fine imagination in the play, but on the whole it left the audience bewildered and unimpressed; and it leaves the reader in no very different condition. Worst of all, one cannot but confess that a good deal of the verse is very flat doggerel. Take, for instance, this speech of Pilate's in answer to Joseph of Arimathea's petition for Christ's body:

> PILATE: Yes, you may have him when the guards give leave.
> Wait. In a case like this men may believe
> That the dead master is not really dead.
> This preaching man, this King, has been the head
> Of men who may be good and mean no harm,
> Whose tenets, none the less, have caused alarm
> First to the priests, and through the priests to me.
> I wish this preacher's followers to see
> That teaching of the kind is to be curbed.
> I mean, established truths may be disturbed,
> But not the Jews, nor Rome. You understand?
> JOSEPH: I follow; yes.

This is very slatternly writing and quite unworthy of Mr. Masefield.

WILLIAM ARCHER

London, March 4

Correspondence

THE LONDON "NATION"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Nation* of April 12 editorially regrets that the London *Nation* has been excluded from the foreign mails: "The reason for this we cannot divine . . . its editor, H. W. Massingham, is excelled by no one in his patriotism, . . ."

If the following facts are true, upon Mr. Massingham and his followers, however conscientious they were in their blinded belief in Germany, rests a terrible burden. They were foremost in responsibility for England's unpreparedness; upon them indirectly must fall the responsibility for America's ignorance of Germany's intent, thus helping the German propaganda for many months to obscure the issues, to deceive as to its methods of warfare, and to aid the enemy in our midst in the first months of intrigue and conspiracy.

In the light of what we know now, the following, quoted from a letter to the New York *Times*, should label Mr. Massingham as a very pernicious sort of patriot:

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December 2, 1912: The *Nation* referred to "Lord Roberts's devilish speeches."

December 9, 1912, it said: "We are in no danger from Germany. We never have been. We never shall be."

February 10, 1913: "Germany cannot now be charged with aiming at the destruction of our command of the sea. She cannot be suspected of planning invasion."

November 3, 1913: "We know that Germany ardently desires and pursues the policy of peace with Britain. That is the commonplace of the European situation."

August 1, 1914: "The suggestion conveyed in the articles of the *Times* and the *Morning Post* (namely, that we stand by France against German attack), and even in certain dangerous, needless, and ill-advised naval precautions, that the appalling contingency of a general war might make a case for our armed action, is language of sheer insanity."

August 1, 1914: "It is everywhere recognized that a Minister who led this country into war would be responsible for a war as causeless and unpopular as any in history, and that he would cease to lead the Liberal party."

There is nothing, as I am informed, for I have not read its continuous issues, to indicate that the London *Nation* has had any change of heart.

I do not pretend to a wisdom that can judge when in a great crisis public safety must curtail free speech. I do, however, feel a deep personal indignation with papers like the London *Nation* and men like Mr. Massingham on whose information I have a right to rely that kept me for years in ignorance of the true state of Germany's intent—facts as accessible, deductions as obvious in those years as they are to-day. Hundreds like me are not fooled by incendiary, loud-mouthed, garbled facts; but it has taken a national catastrophe to realize the stupid blindness of this paper with a great name and tradition. Personally I am in deep sympathy with the determination of the British Government to cut off its power to misinform other countries about England and this war.

I have been since 1872 a constant reader of the New York *Nation*. I have trusted not only its facts, but its judgment, and I am shocked that it asks us to believe Mr. Massingham a patriot.

M. E. SWIFT

Indianapolis, April 16

THE REAL MONROE DOCTRINE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We see constantly in the public press references to the Monroe Doctrine as an obstacle to American intervention in the war and statements that the President has decided on war "in spite of" the Monroe Doctrine. Has it occurred to no one that the present action of the American nation is the logical and inevitable outcome of the attitude expressed in the Monroe Doctrine?

America has been settled chiefly by people who fled from tyranny in Europe. What could the American nation do while she was young and weak but say to the monarchs of Europe: "You shall not set on the soil of the New World your iron-shod boots stained from age to age by the blood of innocent and unoffending men"? That *was* the Monroe Doctrine.

What less can America do now that she has grown strong than to carry back to the soil of Europe the warfare of mankind against oppression and fight the battle of the people against irresponsible kings and emperors? That *is* the Monroe Doctrine made real and vital and active.

I understand this to be the spirit of the President's message to the Congress. He will speak the spirit of mature America if he insists, after the war is over, that no peace shall be made with an autocratic government.

J. B. JOHNSTON

University of Minnesota, April 5

VOLUNTARY ENLISTMENT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent speech at the American Club in London, Mr. Lloyd George, with something of the bluntness of Lord Salisbury's admission that, on another momentous occasion, he had "backed the wrong horse," frankly stated: "We are a slow people, slow and blundering. . . . We have made, as we generally do, every blunder. May I respectfully suggest that it is worth a good deal to study our blunders so as to begin where we are now, not where we were three years ago?"

One "blunder," not yet corrected or even admitted, that of relying on voluntary enlistment, the President is apparently determined to avoid; there are those in Congress and out, yourself I regret to notice among the number, who are determined to force it upon us; so I venture to submit to you an excerpt from a book called "Ordeal by Battle," by F. S. Oliver, which, to me at least, threw an entirely new light on the question. I am sorry I have had to take liberties with Mr. Oliver's text; but that which I had remembered as one paragraph I found on rereading the book was scattered all through one chapter. I think I have condensed without altering the meaning; in proof of which read, if you will, Chapter Six—Methods of Recruiting, beginning on page 365 of "Ordeal by Battle."

"The attitude of the country at the outbreak of war was admirable. As on a well-disciplined ship after a collision, the people, all under self-command and without panic, awaited orders patiently—waited to be told, in tones free from ambiguity and hesitation, what they were to do.

"At times of national crisis there is always a tendency to misgiving lest one may not be doing the full measure of one's duty. Consciences become morbidly active. People are uncomfortable unless they are doing something they have never done before which they dislike and which they do less well than their ordinary work; neither business nor pleasure can be carried on as usual, there must be great sacrifices, there must be great changes—but not merely for the sake of change. This was fully recognized in England at the outbreak of the war. All were prepared to do what the leaders of the nation should order. Orders, the country expected orders, clear, unmistakable orders—but no orders came; there was no clearness, no firmness. An ordinary man will realize his duty when he receives a definite command, but not before. As a Devonshire man said when asked why recruiting was going badly in his village:

" 'We don't think nought, Sir, of them advertisements and newspaper talk about going soldiering; when Government needs soldiers really sore, Government'll say so like it does when it wants taxes—"Come along, John Smith, you're wanted"; and when Government taps I on showlder and says this, I'll go right enough, but I'll not stir foot till Government does; nor any man of sense this side Exeter.' And to John Smith no order came; on the contrary, he was not given even a plain statement of the facts of the situation; instead, he was shouted at through some thousand megaphones, emotional, confusing, frenzied shoutings, as the Government boomed the voluntary system in Periclean

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passages, touched with awe the solemn chords, shouted as if Germany were Jericho. True it is that by these means a great army was got together, probably one of the noblest armies ever recruited; but that army did not include all, or anything like all, those whose clear duty it was to go; it did include many who ought never to have been allowed to join until others, whose ages, occupations, and lack of responsibilities marked them out for the first levies, had been called out; the drain of recruiting affected industries and individuals unequally and unfairly and in a way contrary to public interest; if Government will not exercise guidance and control in unprecedented circumstances, it is inevitable that the country must suffer. A very fine army, this of Lord Kitchener's, a source of great pride and self-congratulations among the politicians—'The voluntary principle—see how it works! What other nation could have done the same?'

"No, other nations could not have done the same, for the reason that there are some things which one cannot do twice over, some things which one cannot give a second time—one's life, for example, or the flower of the manhood of a nation to be made into soldiers."

Just in these closing words is to me the clinching argument against voluntary enlistment. Is it wise policy to stake the flower of our manhood on a single throw? Am I the only one who, seeing the young men at our recruiting camps last summer, doubted the wisdom of shipping such as these wholesale to the border, while not only "John Smith"—whose honest, stupid face and heavy, rather loutish figure were conspicuous by their absence—but an army of bums and slackers stayed snug at home? Like enough, as you say, it may prove possible for the President "to obtain all the volunteers he desires, up to 1,500,000 if necessary," but at what terrible, what unnecessary cost, what prodigal waste of first-rate material! M. A. A.

Concord, Mass., April 19

BOOKS

The Government of Empire

The Problem of the Commonwealth. By Lionel Curtis. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50 net.

IN the year 1910 certain groups of men in the various self-governing Dominions of the British Empire set about to study, in a more or less systematic way, the question of imperial government. The result of this movement is a comprehensive report, to be published in several volumes, of which the first, entitled "The Commonwealth of Nations," has already appeared. In anticipation of this report, it was thought worth while—and the decision was taken just before the Great War—to prepare a brief separate report on one aspect of the imperial problem, that raised by the question, "How a British citizen in the Dominions can acquire the same control of foreign policy as one domiciled in the British Isles." This preliminary report, printed under the above title, was prepared by Mr. Curtis; and although the original draft, widely circulated in the autumn of 1915, was substantially modified as the result of criticism, the final form must not be taken, so we are told, to represent the views of any one but the author. The problem which Mr. Curtis, in our view, has failed to solve is at the present moment engrossing the attention of an imperial conference in London.

The "problem," to a statement of which the first part of the book is devoted, would not exist at all if the Dominions, left entirely free to manage their internal affairs, could remain indifferent to imperial interests and, in case of war, remain out or come in as they liked. This was formerly thought to be the case; but the Great War has demonstrated beyond peradventure that in case of any war of importance the Dominions have no choice but to come in, and that imperial interests can never, therefore, be indifferent to them.

The second part of the book discusses various schemes for so modifying the government of the Empire as to give the Dominions their proper share in determining foreign policy. The Dominions might easily take charge of their own foreign policy; but this would mean the dissolution of the Empire, of which there is no question. Two other schemes have been suggested: the one contemplates the creation of an imperial cabinet, the other of an imperial parliament, in either of which the Dominions would be represented. In the opinion of Mr. Curtis, neither scheme would work: the imperial cabinet because it would be responsible to several electorates; the imperial parliament, which would also be the Parliament of Great Britain, because, since the Dominion representatives could not share in the legislation for the internal affairs of Great Britain, a ministry might be voted down on foreign affairs, but supported on domestic policy, an *impasse* which a new election might quite conceivably perpetuate. Mr. Curtis's analysis and criticism of these two schemes appear convincing.

Mr. Curtis's own scheme would provide an imperial cabinet responsible to an imperial legislature, both entirely distinct from the British Parliament and Government. The imperial cabinet, including ministers having charge of Foreign Affairs, Navy, War, and Finance, would be concerned exclusively with the relations of the Empire with foreign countries. Upon foreign policy would depend naval policy, and upon both would depend the imperial budget to be submitted to the Legislature for its approval or disapproval. Once approved, the supplies would fall to the Dominions and Great Britain according to some equitable apportionment to be determined, probably, by an expert commission. The means of raising the money so apportioned, inasmuch as methods of taxation are so closely bound up with social and economic policy, Mr. Curtis would leave to the governments of the several countries.

Many unforeseen difficulties might, of course, arise to make any such plan impracticable; but there are two quite obvious difficulties which the scheme at once suggests. The first concerns the question of parties likely to be formed in an imperial parliament. Would there be two principal parties, or would there be several groups? It is highly important that a government to which is entrusted the affairs of the Empire should not be overturned every other day; and it is quite conceivable, and even likely, that if there were only minority parties in the imperial parliament it would be impossible to give that permanence and continuity to the foreign policy of the government which is so desirable.

The other point concerns the question of supplies. Mr. Curtis would have the money raised in each Dominion by such means as the Dominion Government might adopt. But suppose one or more of the Dominion governments refused

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to adopt any means? Mr. Curtis has of course foreseen this difficulty, and he has some well-considered proposals for enabling the imperial government to compel the Dominions to pay over their allotted share. Well, the scheme might work; but it never has worked. Federal systems, in which the common government relies upon the local governments to raise the money which is apportioned to them, in which the common government has no machinery for itself laying a tax on individuals and of distraining on the property of individuals in case of non-payment, in which the common government can only, in the last resort, bring some sort of pressure upon the local governments—such federal systems in the past have either been very weak systems or have failed altogether. Who would wish to place the tremendous fortunes of the British Empire in the keeping of a government which might be under the necessity, in order to raise the supplies voted for another Great War, of attempting to coerce states like Canada and Australia, to say nothing of Great Britain? A system of taxation which involves the possibility of having to bring an indictment against a whole people is not likely to prove very effective.

Mr. Curtis has written an extremely interesting and suggestive book; but one has the feeling that the problem he really poses is, "How may a British subject in the Dominions acquire control of the foreign policy of the Empire without being bound effectively by an imperial government?" A safe commentary is that the British subject in the Dominions must either surrender something of his present complete independence in domestic affairs, or else be content to leave the control of imperial affairs where it now is.

Interpretations of the War

Children of Fate. By Marice Rutledge. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.

Ordeal by Fire. By Marcel Berger. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

IT would be difficult to imagine two more strongly contrasted interpretations of the war than are embodied in these two stories. The one sees it as a total loss and waste, a gross insult to human nature, and a denial of divine law; the other as in some unseen way a step towards the far-off event of creation, and as even in its dreadful hour a force for the making as well as for the destruction of men. The contrast is all the more striking because of certain resemblances in setting and personnel. In each instance we see the war breaking upon a Parisian family of the upper bourgeois class, headed by a veteran of '70, and boasting soldier sons who hail the new conflict with delight. In each instance we are concerned with a son of a different type, and are to see what war will do to him and for him.

The Pierre Bourdon of "Children of Fate" is the youngest son of the household. By some trick of destiny he has not come true to the family type. Among these florid, formal, practical people he moves vaguely, like one of another breed. He is a maker, bound up in his architectural studies at the Beaux Arts—a dreamer, too, with visions of consecrating his labors to the welfare of his fellow-men. He is friend and lover also, since among his fellow-students an American brother and sister, Felix and Natalie Shaw, have claimed him, once for all. But there can be nothing vague about his relation to his own people; like or unlike, he is of the blood; and therefore a cog in the machine, complex and rigid, of French family life. He must obtain permission to make Natalie his wife, and at the moment when he is tremulously preparing for the effort the war breaks out. He dares not put his love to the test; he knows that his family will look upon his wish to marry a foreigner, in such an hour, as a sort of treason to France. They have one thing to exact of him, that he take his place in the ranks. Against this his whole nature revolts; he wishes to build, not to destroy—to live so that he may fulfil himself for good. The war means nothing to him but a negation of all that life should be. But he must go; and in order that he may keep his reason and his faith, he contrives, tentatively, to frame a new basis for them. On the eve of his departure he submits this new creed to Natalie, begging her to say that he is right in accepting it:

> War is the outcome of the eternal forces of life—good and evil. These forces mingle cunningly with social evolution until such a time as, crashing through established elements, they take their primitive forms. We are the instruments composing the armies. We fight in sublime obedience to the laws of good against evil. Do you not see, Natalie, that we are not only saving our national ideals; we are preserving the immortal functions of good? When I kill, I shall not be killing for a temporary advantage of boundary lines. I shall be suppressing just so much evil. In this gigantic duel, governments are symbols of greater adversaries. It could not be otherwise, could it? Think, that men of all classes, all religions, are massed together to-day for the purpose of destruction. It comes to that, whether we call it an offensive or a defensive war. There must be a deep significance in our sacrifice. . . . What am I? My bayonet is a blade of grass, my mind a seed in a field. But if by adding my life to the millions I can assist a natural terrific manifestation of good, I must consider myself enrolled in an eternal cause.

Now the girl, Natalie, believes none of this. She sees no beneficent force at work in this war, in any war. To her brother she has cried out her protest: "Later, when we see where our science, our reforms, our prattle of governments, our . . . civilization has led us, we shall sicken for shame. Then it will be too late. Do you think the men who are hurled into this madness of destruction are going to remember why they kill, why they die? As they fall, they will think of their women, of their homes, of their broken dreams and crushed youth. . . ." But at the moment of his going she succumbs to her lover's need, since she sees that "he has found what he wished to find, . . . has made the universe speak his language, that he might kill in peace." So she sends him forth, telling him that he is right, and through the long months of his service at the front it is she who inspires him with insincere assurances of his mission. Meanwhile, she suffers, staring in the face the ugly fact of war, and her own and her sex's accountability: "These men sent out to kill, for one reason or another, killed in the name of women. Such women as she, Natalie, were responsible for their deeds; in the intricate workings of their minds, they themselves labelled their killings with fair names." Presently Pierre is wounded, and during his slow recovery the lovers snatch a sort of happiness. But he recovers, and the ruthless will of his mother, unbroken by the loss of two sons, and his own agonized sense of duty urge him back to the front. It is too much for Natalie: in a moment of absolute revolt she confesses her perfidy and her profound disbelief in the cause for which Pierre is fighting. France? Peace will

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reveal her disaster. The world? It will be none the better: "You who fight believe that with Prussia crushed you will have no other menace to contend with. You hope that by ruining one country you can go back to your homes in peace. But if Germany is crippled for a space of time which will not count in the world's future history, she is simply one rival temporarily out of the field. Oh, Pierre, evil cannot die. It is part of us. You would have to suppress humanity to rid us of evil, Pierre; your death will not affect the world." So the woman cleanses her bosom—too late, for the man is committed, and can only go forth, broken-hearted, to die. Broken-hearted to order, you observe, an amiable but rather feeble child of larger growth. But so, according to this writer, we perceive that all men are, in so far as they are not unamiable and brutal. Natalie speaks for the superior sex, whose authority should and might be final. In the course of her outburst she puts the case quite frankly: women ought not to have permitted men to fight! "They should have foreseen results. Men are ruled mainly by their primal instincts. But they, the women, should have known that if races are to evolve into a higher state it must be through finer, cleverer methods than war. . . ." The item is significant: this is a book of passionate sincerity, an honest plea, but a special plea; and it does not escape the partiality, or even altogether the shrillness, of its order.

"Ordeal by Fire" is a story of very different temper and persuasion. To begin with, it is the work of a man who has been in the thick of things as a soldier on the firing line, upon whom the war has had its direct and transforming action. The author of "Children of Fate" would appear to have learned nothing new from the war: it has simply confirmed her fears, illustrated her "point." Hers, from the outset, is the rôle of protesting observer. M. Berger, we understand, like his hero, answered the call at the beginning of the war as a sergeant of the French reserves. His Michel Dreher is a latter-day Parisian, physically vigorous, mentally accomplished, orderly of life, but deliberately self-centred, and, as it were, elaborately disillusioned. He has fashioned his life according to his liking, has a comfortable post and a sufficient income, and wishes only to be permitted to go his way as an individualist, without embarrassing bonds of sex or religion or patriotism. His sole friend is a cynic and egotist like himself. The order to mobilize finds him holidaying in Switzerland. He has been amusing himself by a discreet flirtation with a charming and simple girl whom he has no notion of taking seriously. The call to arms shocks and bores him, and he is momentarily tempted to ignore it, as he may easily do by staying over the border. He has no consciousness of duty to his country or his kind. But he answers the call. In Paris, in his own family, he finds everybody in a flurry of zeal and of emotion which seems to him hypocritical or disgusting. His cynical friend and he make game of it all, and he joins his regiment in no mood of enthusiasm. At the outset, indeed, he deliberately slights his work, and begins to earn the reputation of a slacker. But he is not able to live up to it. In spite of himself he begins to feel his responsibility as an officer; something urges him to do his part in an affair which as yet has no larger meaning for him. The hard campaign begins, with its incredible toil and its incredible endurance. More and more the young sergeant finds his men relying upon him. They are a mongrel lot, from the fields, the shops, and the gutters of France. Their minds are shallow, their tongues foul or trivial, there are cowards and shirkers among them. Somehow they have to be pulled together, to however vague an end, and much hangs upon the Drehers, the non-commissioned officers to whom they are immediately responsible. Our young sergeant shares their boredom, their poltroonery of spirit. But he cannot show these weaknesses, and in concealing them he learns to overcome them. He wins the respect of his men and the confidence of his superiors, and thereby begins to win a new self-respect, based upon a new sense of his relation to his kind. A love for France and a pride in her character are born in him, and a belief in her mission. Against the pessimism of a fellow-officer who believes that France is done for, he finds himself crying out that it cannot be. He urged "what the French mind meant to the world, what would be missing in the progress of humanity in the future if we let ourselves be overcome. We were not only defending our immediate interests, but a certain smiling Reason, a certain completed and definite genius whose secret to-day we alone possessed." This is spoken at the lowest ebb of the Allied cause, with Germany pushing on and Paris fairly threatened. Then comes the beginning of Joffre's return stroke. Through the weeks which follow, Sergeant Dreher and his men continue to bear their part of the physical squalor and strain and the daily peril which the narrative makes so vivid. Each task, each hour seems insurmountable, and for each as it comes new strength is miraculously found. Meanwhile the nature of the young sergeant is steadily emerging from its self-grown shell. Love of his fellows comes to him with love of country; and for the first time he begins to experience the love of woman in its higher phase. The girl with whom he has half-contemptuously philandered in Switzerland becomes the object of his reverence and his passion. He had been "incapable of love, or of any exalted feelings. But was I alive at that time? No. No. A secret affliction robbed my destiny of all true zest. Let me revel to-day in the supreme instinct which was reviving in me! If, after having been hurled, by the brutality of circumstances, from my quietude into the sphere where the fate of primitive beings was under discussion—what more natural than that I should be born anew to their fire and rapture?" At a supreme moment of personal courage and leadership, Dreher is wounded seriously. But at that moment, before he loses consciousness, he has his full vision of the glory of France and of her cause.

He is sent home a cripple; and here there is an unlucky touch of convention in the story as a love-story, for a perfectly needless misunderstanding ensues between the half-declared lovers, to be resolved only by a "kiss-curtain" at the end. This is a romance of war, without disguise. But, the love-story apart, it is romance upon a very human plane. In its course one becomes intimate not only with its central figure, but with a large number of skilfully projected characters, none of them without its appeal, heroic or piteous or both, to fellow-mortals. The reviewer may be permitted to quote a summing-up of this tale made elsewhere: "Perhaps the most striking thing about these French soldiers of M. Berger's is their likeness to the English Tommy—the same irrepressible boyishness, the same fondness for horseplay and disdain of posing, the same casual and matter-of-fact gallantry when the moment of test comes. The Frenchman of the English stage and of

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English fiction will hardly survive this war—the little gesticulating monkey-like figure of Anglo-American fancy. This evidently is a book of deeper mood and meaning than the now famous 'Gaspard'; here are Gaspards in their natural setting and relation to the great theme as a whole—the great theme of France at war, which has here its finest interpretation in fiction thus far." In a larger way, as war the destroyer of men is the theme of "Children of Fate," so war the tester and revealer of men is the theme of "Ordeal by Fire."

Light on the Early History of the East

Miscellaneous Description of the Yale Babylonian Collection. By Albert T. Clay. Yale Oriental Series Babylonian Texts, Vol. I. New Haven: Yale University Press.

SINCE his election to the chair of Assyriology established about seven years ago at Yale University by the late J. P. Morgan, Professor Clay has been actively engaged in acquiring for his department a collection of original cuneiform material, which now numbers more than 8,000 tablets, besides a miscellaneous collection of Babylonian antiquities, and which bids fair to become the best collection of the kind in this country. The Yale collection, moreover, is not only remarkable for its size, but also for the extraordinary value of the tablets procured through the efforts of Dr. Clay. The volume before us enables one to obtain a view of the miscellaneous character of the collection, for included in the fifty-three texts, beautifully and most accurately copied by the editor's master hand, are historical inscriptions that add considerably to our knowledge of both earlier and later Babylonian history, religious texts, of which one is unique, legal tablets of an unusual kind, including a fragment of Sumerian laws that appears to be considerably older than the famous Code of Hammurapi, and finally linguistic material among which special mention should be made of a large syllabary of more than 300 lines, furnishing many new values for cuneiform signs.

This miscellaneous character lends to Professor Clay's latest volume an extraordinary value, and indeed it is not too much to say that it represents one of the most important contributions to Assyriology made by an American scholar. Among the texts the one that is perhaps of most general interest is the fragment of Sumerian laws just referred to. Unfortunately it is only a fragment, consisting of some seventy lines arranged in three columns. One side of the tablet has disintegrated to such an extent as to be practically illegible. The portion preserved furnishes us with nine laws, the phraseology of which shows distinctly that we must recognize in this fragment a Sumerian prototype of the later Semitic or Akkadian Code of the great Hammurapi; and since this ruler, whose reign may now be fixed as 2123-2081 B. C., tells us, in the epilogue to the Code, that the laws gathered by him were translated "into the language of the people," we have the further assurance that behind the Code there lie earlier compilations in the non-Semitic or Sumerian form. Dr. Clay has been fortunate enough to discover one of these forms. At the same time, the divergences existing between the nine laws preserved in the Yale fragment and the corresponding provisions in the Hammurapi Code show that the Code is in some respects an independent compilation introducing modifications of earlier regulations in order to bring them into accord with later conditions. As Professor Clay correctly points out, there are no distinctions of classes in the Sumerian prototype, whereas in the Hammurapi Code the same act committed by or on a freeman, a plebeian, or a slave entails different consequences in the form of punishments or fines. We cannot, of course, be sure in the case of this Sumerian fragment whether the copyist has merely furnished us extracts from a collection of laws or intended to give a complete Code. The former is more likely to be the case since there are indications that the Yale text was prepared for school purposes (suggested by the colophon as well as by the entry of the total number of lines in each column), and such texts are usually merely extracts from a more complete original. Now, in comparing the nine laws preserved in the Yale fragment with corresponding sections of the Hammurapi Code, it is interesting to note that in not a single instance is there a complete correspondence. Thus, while the Hammurapi Code provides a fine of ten shekels in case a man injures another man's daughter and brings about a miscarriage, the Sumerian provides for two penalties in case of such injury, one, apparently, where the injury is due to an accident, for which the fine is likewise ten shekels, and another where the woman apparently is intentionally struck, for which the fine is double the amount, or twenty shekels. The Hammurapi Code thus, looking only to the injury itself, neglects any distinction as to the manner in which the injury is brought about.

It is to be hoped that some fortunate chance will lead to the recovery of more fragments of the laws of the older Sumerian period whereby scholars will be enabled to follow more closely the progress of methods of administering justice in ancient Babylonia.

Professor Clay has greatly enhanced the value of his volume by adding translations of some of the most important texts, together with discussions. We particularly commend to the attention of those interested in the chronology of ancient Babylonia the admirable presentation of the problems raised by a list of the ancient dynasty of Larsa, which is among the treasures which Professor Clay has been fortunate enough to procure for Yale University. This list, furnishing a series of sixteen names of the dynasty, with the years of each reign attached to the name of the ruler, disposes of a number of questions that have greatly puzzled scholars. Instead of six members of this dynasty heretofore known to us we now have a complete list which shows that the rulers of this ancient city in southern Babylonia ruled for a period of 289 years. The last but one ruler was the famous Hammurapi who ruled as the sixth member of the dynasty. The new dynasty list giving Hammurapi twelve years as ruler over Larsa proves definitely that he conquered the district of which Larsa was the centre in the thirtieth or thirty-first year of his reign. This enables us to date the rule of the Larsa dynasty definitely as extending from 2358 B. C. to 2069 B. C. The new list also furnishes a number of other synchronisms between rulers of the Euphrates Valley belonging to various dynasties, the exact relationship of which to one another was up to the present involved in considerable doubt. Most of the problems involved are now definitely settled by Dr. Clay's most illuminating discussion of the data obtained from his text.

This list of the Larsa dynasty is probably the most valuable of the historical texts included in Dr. Clay's volume, but there are many others furnishing new material for various historical periods of both Babylonian and Assyrian

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empires. These historical texts range from c. 3000 B. C. down to the end of the Seleucid era, about the middle of the third century B. C. The earlier inscriptions are mostly of a votive character from which we obtain data in regard to temples, fortresses, and other structures erected by the rulers. Material for the later periods is embodied chiefly in building inscriptions, which incidentally, however, furnish also historical data. Indeed, there is scarcely a single text which does not furnish some interesting material, and before leaving this part of the volume we should make mention of a votive inscription (No. 13) which reveals to us the name of a new ruler, of a dynasty known as Guti. The Guti were a northern mountainous people who, we know, overran Babylonia at a remarkably early period, but were overthrown after a rule of 125 years by the kings of another Sumerian centre in the Euphrates Valley, known as Uruk. This happened as near as can be estimated at present about 2400 or 2500 B. C. Of eleven rulers of this dynasty hitherto five were known, and through Dr. Clay's volume we now obtain a sixth, whose name is probably to be read Arlagan. By an oversight Dr. Clay proposed an entirely different reading for the name, but this is due to a slip on his part which misled him into looking for the name in the first line of the inscription instead of in the second. He correctly recognized, however, the new ruler as belonging to the Guti dynasty.

Of the religious texts included in the volume the most interesting records the dedication of the daughter of Nabonidus, the last king of Babylonia, as a votary or nun in the service of the Moon-god Nannar or Sin. Dr. Clay appears to have overlooked in his translation and commentary to the text the reason for the dedication. The Moon-god, as a line of the text indicates, has manifested his anger. This happened at the time of full moon of the sixth month. The period of the full moon always had a special significance as marking the transition from the growing to the waning moon. In what way the god manifested his displeasure we are not told, but to judge from many astrological texts known to us, it was because the full moon fell on the thirteenth day instead of, as expected, on the fourteenth or fifteenth of the month. Through omens based upon several inspections of the livers of sheep offered to the angry deity it was ascertained that the god desired a votary, and through further omens the choice fell on the daughter of Nabonidus, who as a votary receives the name of Bel-shalti-Nannar. This princess as the choice of the god becomes his bride precisely as in the Catholic Church the nun is the bride of Christ. The term occurring several times in the inscription which Dr. Clay translates "the inspirer of the votary" as applied to the Moon-god must be rendered more literally as the "chosen one" of the god. The Babylonian verb has its equivalent in Hebrew, where it means "betrothed." The chief significance of the text lies in the light that it thus throws on the manner in which down to the end of the Babylonian empire women were dedicated to the service of the gods; and we further learn from this text that they lived in a quarter within the temple area which corresponds to a modern nunnery. The king undertakes some restorations of this nunnery which, he expressly tells us, goes back to very early days. In fact, he mentions having found, in the course of his search among the foundations of the building, a cylinder containing apparently the name of the original founder of the nunnery, who again turns out to be a royal princess, the sister of King Rim-Sin, who is to be placed just before Hammurapi. Proof is thus afforded us of the continuous existence of this ancient nunnery from about 2100 B. C. down to the middle of the sixth century.

Lastly, special attention should be directed to the important syllabary which Yale University has been fortunate enough to acquire. Such syllabaries, giving lists of signs with their names, the Sumerian meanings, and the translations into the Semitic speech of Babylonia, form part of an exceedingly extensive textbook literature which, dating from very early periods and coming down to the very latest, constitute an important section of the collections of tablets made by the priests attached to the temples in the larger and smaller centres of Babylonia and Assyria.

The new Yale syllabary is remarkable for its size, as also for the large number of readings and new values for the signs it furnishes. In this way the publication marks a most important contribution to the lexicography of Babylonia. In addition to the text, Dr. Clay has furnished a transliteration with useful references to the two great collections of cuneiform signs made by Professor Brünnow, of Princeton University, and by Dr. Meissner, of Breslau, some years ago. Through these references scholars can see at a glance how far the syllabary indicates what we already knew and how far it adds to our knowledge. For many signs the names were not known. Through this single text we obtain about sixty new names for cuneiform signs and several hundred new values both in Sumerian and in Babylonian, which means that many passages in inscriptions hitherto puzzling will be solved with the help of this syllabary.

To add a word in regard to translations of many of the texts which Dr. Clay has given in the first part of the volume, we note a considerable number of passages, particularly in the Sumerian texts, which are open to a different interpretation from the one proposed by the industrious author. To give a few examples, in Text No. 9 the word translated by Dr. Clay as "young bride" is much more likely to have the meaning "daughter-in-law." In No. 10, an inscription of Narâm-Sin, written in Akkadian, it is hardly likely that the King calls himself "conqueror of nine armies in one year." The proper translation is the "one who carried out nine expeditions in one year." In the same inscription the word translated "alter" should be "injures." In No. 17 the name Shu-uru-um should be Shu-Irri, or in the Akkadian form Gimil-Irra. In No. 39, instead of "May my ear attend to them," the better translation is "May one give ear to them." The name of the sanctuary in No. 40 belonging to the temple precinct in Uruk should be E-khili-anna. In Nos. 46 to 51 the term *pagri* does not mean "claim," but "carcass." In No. 52, an interesting inscription of the days of the Seleucid era, 244 B. C., the title of the officer should be *shaknu*. *Bit-Duri* is not "the precinct wall," but the name of some portion of a temple or of a shrine. Instead of "south" side, the translation should be "east," which is, of course, merely a slip on the part of the editor. In the case of the Sumerian inscriptions more particularly, it is possible to suggest a considerable number of improvements, and no doubt Professor Clay will meanwhile have made some of these improvements himself. It must be borne in mind that our knowledge of Sumerian is still rather defective, and the first translation of a Sumerian text is always more or less tentative. It is natural, also, in the case of texts covering such a variety of

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subjects, extending indeed over the entire field of Babylonian and Assyrian literary material, that specialists in one section or the other should be able to improve upon the interpretation of single lines or of single words. This does not in any way diminish the value of Dr. Clay's contribution as a whole. In the copies of the texts themselves exceedingly few errors will be found, and if one considers the great difficulties involved in reading some of the texts, which, as the photographs show, are often badly preserved, full tribute must be paid to the editor's painstaking accuracy and extraordinary skill in correctly determining characters frequently from very faint indications. Only those who have worked on such material as Dr. Clay has laid before us can appreciate the difficulties of the task involved. The typographical errors are exceedingly few and most of them obvious.

The Physicochemical View

The Organism as a Whole. From a Physicochemical Viewpoint. By Jacques Loeb. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50 net.

AT the present time most biologists admit that the various workings of the organs of the human body are the results of purely physical and chemical processes, but when the organism, as a harmonious whole, is considered from a physicochemical point of view many doubts have arisen. The vitalist believes that some guiding "principle" or "force" is necessary to account for such an adaptive mechanism, but this conception removes the problem from the realms of physics and chemistry. Contrary to this idea, the mechanist maintains that all life processes are of a physicochemical nature.

Through the rapid development of experimental biology during the past twenty years, this mechanistic conception of life has made much progress, chiefly through the brilliant researches of the author of the work under review. In so brief an analysis as it is possible to give here, we can only refer to the main principles which are brought out in this elaborate treatise. The text is composed of fourteen chapters dealing with such problems as The Origin of Life, The Chemical Basis of Genus and Species, Artificial Parthenogenesis, Determination of Sex, Determinism in the Formation of an Organism from an Egg, Secondary Sexual Characters, Sexual Instincts, Mendelian Heredity and its Mechanism, Animal Instincts and Tropisms, The Influence of the Environment, as well as many other pertinent biological questions.

The number of Mendelian factors for any organism is very great, and from such a conception one must believe that a living thing is a "mosaic of independent hereditary characters." But how can an "harmonious whole" result from such a mosaic of factors? Evidence is given to show that such harmony might be due to the cytoplasm of the egg, since this represents the "future embryo upon which the Mendelian factors in the chromosomes can impress only individual characteristics, probably by giving rise to special hormones and enzymes."

It is known that the nucleus of both the egg and the sperm carries Mendelian factors, which reside within the chromosomes, and from which only specific hereditary traits or independent characters develop. On the other hand, the cytoplasm of the egg determines the pattern upon which the Mendelian factors react. Thus we are vertebrates because our genus-heredity was determined by the cytoplasm of the ovum from which we were developed, while our individual hereditary characters, such as eye-color, hair-color, night-blindness, and the like, were conditioned equally by the Mendelian factors. According to Dr. Loeb, "it is conceivable that the generic and possibly also the species characters of organisms are determined by the cytoplasm of the egg and not by the Mendelian factors. Because the sperm which contains only a nucleus cannot be caused to develop into an organism, while the egg can be made to do so through artificial means."

The reaction of an organism to light, as the author shows, is in accord with the law of Bunsen and Roscoe, and many experiments are given which would indicate that animal and plant instincts are the results of physicochemical forces. Every living thing begins its cycle of life as a single cell, but from the human ovum a human being only develops: thus it is a fact that the egg of each species is specific. Regarding this fact, the author attempts to answer the following questions: What determines the species of the future organism? Is it a structure or a specific chemical or group of chemicals? Many scientists believe that the chromosomes are the bearers of the individual hereditary materials, and this would account for the fact that the egg of any species can give rise to an individual of that species; but it would not account for the origin of the species. As evidence under this head, Dr. Loeb would point to the proteins found in the cytoplasm of the egg. Since these solutions of proteins are transparent under the microscope, they have been generally disregarded by biologists.

Professor Bataillon in France, in 1910, made one of the most interesting discoveries in modern biology, for he observed that, if an unfertilized frog's egg was punctured with a needle, development might occur without the aid of the sperm from the male. Professor Loeb not only confirmed this experiment, but raised such unfertilized eggs through the tadpole to the adult state, and now has in his possession several parthenogenetic male frogs over a year old. It would appear then that the introduction of oxygen of the air into the egg was sufficient to bring about this development.

The problem of sex-production, which for a long time was believed to be due to wars, foods, famines, and the like, is now known to be a Mendelian phenomenon. To illustrate, man has two kinds of sperms and one kind of egg; if a male-determining spermatozoon fertilizes the egg, a male results, while if a female-determining sperm unites with the ovum, a female is produced. Many suggestions taken from various fields of biology lead the author to believe that "the cytoplasm of the egg is the future embryo in the rough, and that the factors of heredity in the sperm only act by impressing the details upon the rough block." There is evidence also for believing that the Mendelian factors may be ferments or enzymes.

The reactions of the organism as a whole are explained from a physicochemical point of view by studying the tropisms of plants and animals. For such tropisms as heliotropism, geotropism, and the like, it is shown that the organism is not attracted or repulsed by a "fondness" for light, darkness, or gravity, but it appears that "any element of will or choice on the part of the animal in these motions is eliminated, that the animal moves where its legs carry it, and not that the legs carry the animal where the latter

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'wishes' to go." It is also shown that the influence of the environment upon the organism is not always so adaptive and purposeful as certain biologists have assumed, for "positive heliotropism occurs in organisms which have no opportunity to make use of it," and many living things respond to galvanotropism in the laboratory, but do not meet with it in nature.

Regarding the death of the metazoa, aside from old age and structural shortcomings, the author suggests that the organs of the body produce poisons, as well as toxins formed by bacteria, all of which account for death in the organism.

The work under review is scientific and accurate in details and should be read by all individuals interested in a mechanistic philosophy of living things.

Notes

PUBLICATION of "Out of a Clear Sky," by Maria Thompson Daviess, is announced for May 3 by Harper & Brothers.

Little, Brown & Company announce the forthcoming publication of "The Definite Object," by Jeffery Farnol.

Doubleday, Page & Company announce for publication on Saturday "A Diversity of Creatures," by Rudyard Kipling; "The Shadow Line," by Joseph Conrad; The Worth Knowing series, and a uniform leather edition of Selma Lagerlöf in nine volumes.

The following volumes will be published shortly by Robert M. McBride & Company: "Forced to Fight," by Erich Erichsen; "A Nurse at the War," by Grace McDougall; "Towards a Sane Feminism," by Wilma Meikle; "A Dominie Dismissed," by A. S. Neill, and "Modern War: Paintings," by C. R. W. Nevinson.

Forthcoming publications of E. P. Dutton & Company are as follows: "The Royal Outlaw," by Capt. Charles Hudson; a new pocket dictionary of English and Russian; "April Folly," by St. John Lucas; "A Naturalist in Borneo," by W. C. Shelford; "The England of Shakespeare," by P. H. Ditchfield; "Hallow-E'en and Poems of the War," by W. M. Letts, and "Maple Leaves in Flanders Fields," by Herbert Rae.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce the following books for early publication: "The Gun Brand," by James B. Hendryx; "The Livery of Eve," by F. W. Bain; "Success in the Suburbs," by John R. McMahon; "Growth in Silence," by Susanna Cocroft; "Love and Laughter," by Caroline E. Prentiss; "The Way to Study Birds," by John Dryden Kuser. As representatives of the Cambridge University Press the Putnams announce the following volumes: "The Chemistry of Dyestuffs," by M. Fort; "Optical Theories," by D. N. Mallik; "The Way to Nirvana," by L. de la Vallée Poussin, and "Graduated French Dictation," by Sydney H. Moore.

IT is probable that the European war will modify military criticism of General McClellan. In its severest form that criticism was marshalled and applied in Michie's "Life of McClellan," one of the Great Commanders series of biographies. In his "McClellan: A Vindication of the Military Career of General George B. McClellan" (Neale Publishing Co.), James Havelock Campbell, Dean of the Santa Clara Law School, subjects Michie's book to as severe an arraignment as General Michie applied to McClellan. Against Michie's "Life of McClellan" he sets the same author's "Life of General Emory Upton." McClellan's problem was to organize and equip an army after war had begun in a democracy which had permitted, less than fifty years before, about 2,000 English troops to capture the city of Washington and burn the national Capitol. Facing the truth that neither was the South armed or equipped, and remembering the claim that Northern delay only gave the South time to prepare, it is nevertheless obvious that with the superiority of resources and numbers the North would have gained more than the South by preparation. It was for the South to hurry, for the North to take time. There is a great deal to be said in McClellan's behalf, and Mr. Campbell says it, without sparing President Lincoln or Secretary of War Stanton. Their period has become so remote that a writer may criticise Lincoln and Stanton, as General Wilson points out defects in General Grant, with a freedom that would not have been permitted twenty years ago. Very often the criticism loses sight of stupendous difficulties overcome, and in dwelling on obvious faults in individuals misses far more important elements of strength. A good deal of the criticism of McClellan in the past has been of this kind. In the consideration of American preparation for national defence familiarity with the career of both McClellan and Grant will be useful, and in actual preparation, organization, and equipment there is more to be learned from the work of McClellan than from that of his more famous contemporary.

ONE of the great heroic figures of history, and certainly the greatest hero of the North, Charles XII of Sweden, by his adventurous career, his brilliant feats of war, and not least his tragic end, has ever furnished an inspiring theme to writers of the most different stamp—from the keen contemporary Voltaire to the manly and tender Verner v. Heidenstam in our own days. Mr. John A. Gade has hit upon the device of writing a book ("Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden"; Houghton Mifflin; $3 net) purporting to be a translation of the manuscript of one Colonel Klingspor, a gentleman in attendance on the prince from his childhood, through his earlier triumphs, the dark days of Poltava, and the crazy adventure of Bender, till his soldier's death in the trenches before Fredericksten—as inseparable from him as the big spurs of King Charles's own famous riding-boots. In most other respects Mr. Gade is credible enough, fortified and enlivened as his account is with the contemporary observations and anecdotes now accessible in a number of published journals of the Carolines. The recently published five volumes of memoirs of soldiers under Charles, edited by Quennerstäd, seem to have been especially drawn upon. Wisely, the author makes his doughty colonel display no more of political information or less of the common prejudices of his day than a person of his station and opportunities might well have had, and the eighteenth-century style is bravely kept up, with scarcely a lapse—a difficult enough feat for a specialist in the language of that time. In but one respect does there appear to be uncertainty of planning. For whom in particular was this eloquent account written? For youths to be fired with a noble emulation of a great character, so one would judge from the general tone of the book, which lays the greatest stress on the Spartan virtues. But if so, why the salacious anecdotes, *e. g.*, about August the Strong, told in contrast though they be? For all that one reads once more with a melancholy pleasure of the un-

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dying loyalty of a people to their idolized king; and is once more made poignantly aware that, but for his Achilles heel of well-nigh insane stubbornness, Sweden might yet be the queen of the Baltic, and Prussia and Russia insignificant inland principalities. The book is well illustrated with portraits and plates. There is one altogether unserviceable map.

THE late Wilson M. Cary's "Sally Cary," edited by Fairfax Harrison and privately printed by him at the De Vinne Press, has for its principal contents the curious romance of Washington's attachment for the wife of his friend George William Fairfax. The interesting story, delicately told, is accompanied by profuse genealogical data which, to many readers, will constitute the chief value of the book. A list of the remnants of the once-famous library at Ceelys, on the James River, the principal seat of the Cary family, is a welcome addition to our scanty knowledge of Colonial libraries.

CHIEF interest in James H. Leuba's "The Belief in God and Immortality" (Boston: Sherman, French; $2 net) is the tabulation of the results of the author's *questionnaire*, sent out some time ago to "American scientists, sociologists, historians, and psychologists." By way of preliminary to this statistical effort, Professor Leuba sketches the primary beliefs of primitive peoples about the continuance of life beyond death, considers the metaphysical "proofs" of immortality, and reviews the work of the Society for Psychical Research. He is insistent upon the contention that "the modern conception is not a growth from the primary belief, but an independent creation, differing radically from it"; but he does not establish the point beyond peradventure. In fact, the part of this book dealing with primitive beliefs verges upon the negligible. Presumably the section on the metaphysical proofs is as good a summary as the topic deserves, the conclusion being that there is nothing proved. The treatment of psychical research is not novel or enlightening, though it arrives at a sound verdict, again, of "not proved." The author, in fact, admits that the rest of the book "may be read independently" of this first part. There remain the statistics and certain concluding remarks, the latter being sensible enough. The statistics are interesting, especially the samples of answers received to the queries as to belief in a personal God and personal immortality. The author summarizes his results as follows: "The situation revealed by the present statistical studies demands a revision of public opinion regarding the prevalence and the future of the two cardinal beliefs of official Christianity, and shows the futility of the efforts of those who would meet the present religious crisis by devising a more efficient organization and coöperation of the churches, or more attractive social features, or even a more complete consecration of the church membership to its task. The essential problem facing organized Christianity is constituted by the widespread rejection of its two fundamental dogmas—a rejection apparently destined to extend parallel with the diffusion of knowledge and the moral qualities that make for eminence in scholarly pursuits." We believe that this statistical part of the book would have formed the basis for a few excellent articles. There has been some carelessness displayed in the proof-reading.

DR. JOHN WALTER GOOD'S "Studies in the Milton Tradition," published as Nos. 3 and 4 of the University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature (University of Illinois; $1.75) is one of the most elaborate monographs yet produced upon the history of an English poet's reputation. It might have been expected of the author of such a work that he would be better grounded in literature than to speak repeatedly of Milton's "Juvenalia" or of quarto pocket editions; he could well be more sophisticated than to say that Erasmus Darwin wished to "eclipse the glory of Pope, by improving upon his versification along the lines of polish and sonorous qualities" (p. 233), or to write thus about William Lauder: "If the Bentley Controversy was a storm, this Lauder affair was a cyclone. First the Nation was startled; then it soberly reflected; and then it wreaked a terrible revenge upon this Forger for insulting the name of beloved Milton" (p. 185). But if Dr. Good seems somewhat naïve he has been none the less scrupulous in his hunt for every discoverable trace of Milton's fame during its first century. The list of editions, the collection of poetical tributes to Milton, and the analyses of biographical and critical works are portentous; they will hardly need to be done again.

THE author's general conclusions, that the influence of Milton was felt in every phase of English life in the eighteenth century and that "Paradise Lost" was far more influential than the minor poems, are abundantly borne out by the facts given. The arguments, however, leave something to be desired. A certain Puritan bias constantly appears in the needless emphasis upon the indisputable supremacy of "Paradise Lost." And in trying to show that Milton affected the eighteenth century at all points Dr. Good persistently assumes, as in the passage on the Lauder affair already quoted, that this or that literary controversy was made an issue by the whole nation. It is when he comes, however, to what he calls the "Romantic Application of Milton" that he is least impressive. For instance, having just said that Milton's verse-form served for the Romantic poets as "an expression of authority," he goes on:

> This involves the dicta of Milton's "Preface," made good by the example of his Poems. Here is a contradiction, but such is life in many of its expressions. Even the radical Romanticist would bow to the authority of Milton, when he declared rhyme the invention of a barbarous age. Where the heart is, there obedience follows and authority is not a burden. Besides this, the very bigness of Milton carried conviction, precluding the possibility of mistake, as it would appear to his devotees (p. 235).

The entire chapter is almost equally confused, in part because Dr. Good does not always say what he appears to mean, but chiefly because his facts, which do prove that Milton's fame increased, cannot be made to prove, as they are asked to do, that the Romantic opinion of Milton was a final, adequate verdict towards which mankind had been struggling vainly for a century. Romantic critics saw in Milton his passion, but not his austerity; they saw the variety of his learning, but not its soundness; they forgot, looking at his idealism and his radicalism, his essentially classic self-possession. Unless one understands and admits this, one cannot find a way out of the contradiction which Dr. Good has escaped by the broad path of logomachy. The fact is, there has never been and there will not be a generation able to agree about Milton. From the first he has stood a gigantic and unassailable figure whom some men

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in each age have idolized and most men have neglected. The existence of such a strain of exaltation running through the later life of England is a noble thing. It was a fine subject for its historian to choose. In so detailed a treatise, it is but natural that a few misprints should have occurred. On page 31, l. 5, for "spearate" read "separate"; on page 59, l. 27, for "owe" read "own"; on page 127, l. 22, for *"Scandeberg"* read *"Scanderbeg";* on page 174, l. 22, for "whigism" read "whiggism"; on page 189, l. 31, for "Deferences" read "Defences"; on page 269, l. 17, for "Vincent Browne" read "Vincent Bourne."

"RAYMOND" was the son of Sir Oliver Lodge and was killed in Flanders, while in command of the company of which he was a second lieutenant, on September 14, 1915, in his twenty-seventh year. Eleven days after his death, a medium with whom his mother (*incognita*) was having a sitting brought a message from him; and from that time on communications through many mediums have been showered upon both the parents from their lost son. The evidence thus accumulated has seemed to Sir Oliver Lodge so convincing that he has published a book of some four hundred pages upon the subject, entitled "Raymond, or Life and Death, with Examples of the Evidence for Survival of Memory and Affection after Death" (Doran; $3 net). The book is in three parts, the first containing an account of Raymond's life, with many of his letters from the front, the second part giving a detailed account of the sittings in which he is supposed to have been the communicator, while the third states in more general terms Sir Oliver's philosophical views concerning matter and spirit, life, death, and communication between this world and the next. The first section, descriptive of the young man and his life in the trenches, is perhaps the most interesting part of the book; though, in the author's opinion at any rate, the central section is the most important. It cannot be said, however, that any new kind of evidence for survival after death is here produced, or that the case for survival has been made notably stronger by it. Those who interpret all the cases in the innumerable volumes of the P. S. P. R. as instances of telepathy, the subconscious, "fishing," and foolery will be quite as unpersuaded on finishing with "Raymond" as when they began. Those, on the other hand, who have maintained a sympathetic attitude towards "psychical research," while they will not contend that Sir Oliver's new evidence is conclusive, will probably close the book with a greater sympathy and a more lively hope. And whatever one may think of the value of the evidence for survival, every reader will find in this search of a bereaved father for his brave dead son in the unknown land of shades a certain human interest which few books on psychical research have possessed.

PRINTED as Vol. LXXI of the Columbia University Studies in History, "The Commerce of Louisiana During the French Régime, 1699-1763," by Mrs. Franklin Miller Surrey (Longmans, Green), was begun in 1909 and is based upon long and careful research in the French archives. The work is the most exhaustive and detailed study of a particular aspect of colonial commerce which has yet been published. An exhaustive study does not necessarily imply an exhaustive treatment; and one is inclined to think that the present book (it runs to 476 pages) might well have been greatly condensed. The author should of course know all about methods of transportation; but an entire chapter devoted to the subject of Boats seems really more than the reader is likely to have any use for. The average reader, to say nothing about the special student to whom the book will chiefly appeal, might be expected to understand the nature of "punting" without a description of every movement of the body essential to that interesting operation. Nevertheless we are very glad to get such admirable studies on any terms, and the present one will be of great use to all students of Louisiana history and to students of Anglo-French relations in America during and before the French and Indian War. For the latter it will have the special value of calling attention to the fact, too often all but ignored, that the rivalry of the two peoples was not confined to the region of the Ohio River.

CARL H. P. THURSTON'S "The Art of Looking at Pictures" (Dodd, Mead; $1.50 net) seems to be based on the assumption that you can persuade a doubter to eat an egg if once you can prove to him that it is good in spots. To this end the aspirant is bidden to concentrate on chosen winning aspects of pictures. The book is of pocket size and arranged alphabetically, so that it may be whipped out and promptly applied in any æsthetic emergency. There are well-chosen extracts concerning each artist. Mr. Thurston takes literally the precept that one must beat the highways and hedges and compel all sorts to come in. We are willing to believe that his system of commandeering the indifferent might work in exceptional cases, but we cannot see any wide utility for it.

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Finance

The New Era

IT scarcely needed the Te Deum service at St. Paul's with its extraordinary testimony to the union of motive, principle, and purpose in the world now in arms against the German autocracy, to show the new conditions and surroundings which are foreshadowed in the civilized world, before as well as after return of peace. The certainty of an era very different from that which has been familiar to us in the past is as clearly indicated by the attitude of revolutionary Russia, by our own Government's political and financial measures, and by the coming conference at Washington of the statesmen of four great nations, as by London's demonstration of last Friday. The spectacle, unbelievable until this month, of the American flag flying over Westminster and the cathedral choir leading an English congregation in the Star-Spangled Banner and the Battle Hymn of the Republic, only served as evidence of the rapid drift of events.

It is impossible that financial and economic questions of the future should not be influenced as profoundly by the new order thus foreshadowed as the political questions will be. This is clearly enough one reason why our financial markets, while hesitating in an effort to take the reckoning, have on the whole shown so much hopefulness and confidence in face of our own entry into the war, of the immense impending burden on our investment markets, and of the certainty of heavy taxation. It undoubtedly explains the fact that whereas, in December, the talk of "early peace" caused violent reaction on the Stock Exchange, the present much more convincing indications to the same effect are taken as a ground for rising prices.

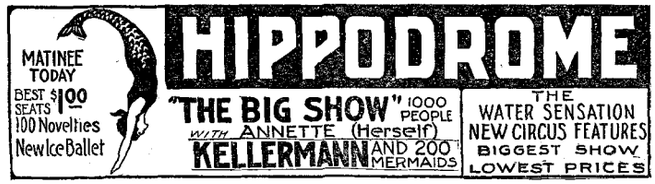
The German Foreign Office blundered (as it usually does in such matters) in its judgment of what even the Russian radicals had in mind as regards the fighting of the war to a finish. But underlying their attitude in refusing to consider a separate peace and in spite of the many possible follies which a revolutionary government is likely enough to commit, there is striking evidence of a determination to prevent another future era of international suspicion, hatred, and mutual preparation for hostilities. In a different way, the same resolution seems to underlie popular demonstrations elsewhere—even in Germany and Austria. The belief, already accepted in other countries, that the war cannot be ended on the basis of compromise with the existing régime of military autocracy, is apparently spreading among the Teutonic proletariat also.

How the end will be brought about, especially as regards the Hohenzollern dynasty, is a matter on which opinion as yet hardly ventures to speculate. In another direction, however, a phenomenon of the day even more impressive to the financial mind is the sobriety with which public men and governments are taking up vexed questions of policy, under circumstances which would usually have been expected to create the wildest demagogic recklessness. The character of the Russian revolution up to the present time is doubtless the strongest illustration of this. Yet in this way the attitude of our own Administration and Congress is evidence to the same purport.

The growing belief that legislation at Washington, with all the opportunity for motives of prejudice and class feeling, is being guided by businesslike and common-sense considerations has had a good deal to do with the strength of our own financial markets. Wall Street itself was singularly impressed, as possible evidence of a new spirit, by the Treasury's public request for bankers' counsel on the policy to be pursued in floating the $5,000,000,000 loan.

We have yet to see the longer results of all these influences, and the entire situation is naturally bewildering when history is being made so fast and the world being swept so rapidly from one wholly new position to another that it is hard to reconstruct our own point of view of only three weeks ago. The test of public sobriety and conservatism still remains to be applied, both with Congress and with the Administration. But the notable fact, after all, is the steady accumulation of grounds for a hopeful view of the financial and political future, as particular sources of recent and not at all unreasonable apprehension gradually disappear.

Amusements



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Gerould, G. H. Peter Sanders, Retired. Scribner. $1.50 net.
Kline, B. The End of the Flight. Lane. $1.50 net.
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Long, H. B. The Mission of Janice Day. Sully & Kleinteich. $1.25 net.
Nicholson, M. The Madness of May. Scribner. $1 net.
Rumsey, F. Mr. Cushing and Mlle. de Chastel. Lane. $1.40 net.

MISCELLANEOUS

Elliott, L. E. Brazil To-day and To-morrow. Macmillan. $2.25 net.
French's Standard Library Edition: Oliver Goldsmith, Mrs. Leffingwell's Boots, In Mizzoura, The Witching Hour, Maggie Pepper, The Lion and the Mouse, The Gamblers, The Third Degree. New York: Samuel French.
Hobhouse, L. T. Questions of War and Peace. T. Fisher Unwin. 3s. 6d. net.
Melville, N. J. Standard Method of Testing Juvenile Mentality. Introduction by W. Healy. Lippincott. $2 net.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Batten, L. W. The Relief of Pain by Mental Suggestion. Moffat, Yard. $1.25 net.
Clennell, W. J. The Historical Development of Religion in China. T. Fisher Unwin. 6s. net.
Eckman, G. P. When Christ Comes Again. Abingdon Press. $1.25 net.
Kent, C. F. The Social Teachings of the Prophets and Jesus. Scribner. $1.50 net.
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Summary of the News

THE press of the country was relieved from the strain of reticence, heroically imposed, and the country in general from not a little anxiety by the announcement on Saturday of the safe arrival of the British mission headed by Mr. Balfour. The party, which had travelled by way of Canada, reached Washington on Sunday afternoon, receiving in the capital a reception said to be unparalleled in that usually unemotional city. The safe arrival of the French Commission, headed by M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre, was announced on Tuesday.

WASHINGTON, making a display of British flags on Sunday, only reciprocated a like compliment in London two days earlier. April 20 was "America Day" in the English capital, celebrating the entry of the United States into the war. For the first time in history the Stars and Stripes joined the Union Jack on the Victoria Tower at Westminster, and at St. Paul's Cathedral a solemn service was held, attended by the King and Queen and the American Ambassador and other notables galore, who listened to an American bishop (Bishop Brent, of the Philippines) telling them from the pulpit, "This is not merely the beginning of a new era, but of a new epoch." Already, on April 18, both Houses of Parliament had extended fraternal greetings to the United States in memorable speeches by Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Dillon (for the Nationalists), and Mr. Wardle (for Labor), in the House of Commons, and by Earl Curzon, the Marquis of Crewe, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Viscount Bryce, in the House of Lords. Paris held its own "America Day" on Sunday, the occasion being marked by a reception to Ambassador Sharp at the Hôtel de Ville.

WITH the $7,000,000,000 bond issue ready for the President's signature on Monday, the first, and not the least important, of our preparations for war was set in train. The Army bill is up for debate this week, discussion of it having been begun in the Senate on Saturday and in the House on Monday. The division of the bill in the House Committee, which voted thirteen to eight against the immediate application of compulsion, sufficiently indicates the extent of opposition which the measure must encounter. That division has also resulted in a curious parliamentary situation, the Administration's measure being in charge of Representative Kahn, ranking Republican member of the Military Committee, while the Democratic chairman of the Committee, Representative Dent, leads the anti-compulsion forces. Nevertheless, at the time of writing, supporters of the bill express confidence that it will command a majority in both House and Senate.

OF not less importance than the raising of military forces is the question of conserving the nation's food supply for ourselves and our allies. A comprehensive plan was submitted to the Senate by Secretary Houston on April 20, which included suggestions for improving distribution, increasing production, stimulating agricultural labor, and conserving the existing supply. In case of emergency Secretary Houston even recommended that powers to

(*Continued on next page.*)

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(*Continued from preceding page.*)

fix prices should be given to the Council of National Defence.

THE Espionage bill, with its dangerous threat against the liberties of the press, is still under discussion, and under fire, as we write. The practically unanimous condemnation of the press and sharp criticism in both House and Senate have been effective in obtaining some modification of its more offensive provisions, and it seems likely that before it reaches its final form it may be made more or less acceptable.

WAR seemed to have been brought close to our shores last week when the report went forth that a U-boat had launched a torpedo at the destroyer Smith, missing her by a narrow margin. The report was official and was made by officers of the Smith. Nevertheless, it seems probable that they were mistaken, in view of the fact that nothing further has been heard from the alleged submarine.

IN other parts of the world's waters the German submarine navy has been true to its unsavory traditions. The sinking on April 17 of the two British hospital ships, Lanfranc and Donegal, was described in dispatches from London of Sunday's date. Seventy-five men in all, many of them wounded, perished. The fact that there were on board a number of German wounded prisoners, all of whom appear to have behaved badly and fifteen of whom were drowned, may cast a shadow on Berlin's rejoicing over the exploit.

A NEW play of the Teutonic fancy was described in a statement given out by the State Department on Sunday, telling how a German submarine, having collected nineteen prisoners, some of them Americans, on its deck, humorously submerged, leaving the prisoners to be washed off into a rough sea. They were rescued an hour later by a patrol vessel, the appearance of which on the horizon had been the excuse for their ducking. The British list of losses through mines or torpedoes for the week ending April 15 gave 19 vessels of more and 9 of less than 1,600 tons sunk. Arrivals were 2,739; sailings, 2,331.

WHILE on the subject of Prussian atrocity we should call attention to Brand Whitlock's admirable report on the deportations of the Belgians, written in January and made public by the State Department on April 21. When all allowance for exaggeration is made, Mr. Whitlock's conclusion is that there remains enough "to stamp this deed as one of the foulest that history records."

LABOR troubles in Germany give evidence of becoming acute. Started by the cutting of the bread ration by 25 per cent., they spread last week among munition workers in various cities, even the Krupp factories being affected. The seriousness of the situation that arose is sufficiently shown by the fact that concessions were at once made to the strikers and that Hindenburg himself found it necessary to issue an appeal to munition workers.

EVERY item of news from Russia serves to confirm the assurance of Ambassador Francis, cabled to the State Department on April 18, that the Russian Government and the Russian people, which is the Government, hold no thought of any separate peace. The same assurance was given early last week to the Anglo-French Socialist delegates at Petrograd, and it was repeated on Sunday at the Congress of delegates from the armies on the western (Russian) front. Efforts of the German Socialists to bring about a rapprochement with their Russian confrères have failed, as Herr Scheidemann virtually admitted at the Socialist conference held in Berlin last week.

RELATIONS between Turkey and the United States were broken off by the Ottoman Government on April 20. Mr. Lansing's statement on the subject was published on Tuesday.

LATIN-AMERICA continues to fall into line in protest against the German interpretation of international law. Following the sinking of the Argentine sailing ship Monte Protegido, Argentina, on Saturday of last week, sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding complete satisfaction. Failing that, diplomatic relations will be broken.

A GENERAL election in Great Britain was again postponed last week when the House of Commons passed the second reading of the bill for prolonging the life of the present Parliament for another six months. A statement on the Irish question is expected to be made this week. It is reported that Mr. Lloyd George has a scheme to propose based on county option.

IT has been a week of ministerial crises. In Spain the Cabinet of Count Romanones has been succeeded by one headed by Marquis Manuel Garcia Prieto, the President of the Senate, which announces its adhesion to the policy of neutrality, the rock on which the former Ministry split. Count Romanones gave out a statement on the subject on April 20. The Portuguese Ministry of Antonio Almeida resigned on April 21 as a result of an adverse vote in the Chamber of Deputies on the question of the establishment of a national economic council. In Japan, on the other hand, the Parliamentary elections have had the rather surprising result of giving a substantial majority to Premier Terauchi.

KING CONSTANTINE has again sprung into unenviable prominence in the dispatches. From a reply by Lord Robert Cecil to a question in the House of Commons on Monday, it would appear that this unconstitutional monarch has been encouraging guerrilla attacks upon the Venizelists in Thessaly. The whole Greek situation is likely to be taken up in a secret session of the House of Commons, and the general feeling in Allied countries seems to be for the definite elimination of Constantine and the establishment of a republic in Greece. There are hints from Washington that the Administration contemplates recognizing Venizelos's Government in the near future.

OPERATIONS on the Aisne by Gen. Nivelle's troops were succeeded on Monday, while the process of consolidation goes on, by a new smash forward by the British east of Arras. The results of the French drive may be summarized as follows: the recovery of fifty square miles of territory; the possession of commanding positions overlooking the Aisne; the capture of some 20,000 prisoners and of more than a hundred guns. Defeats of the Turkish forces in Mesopotamia and in Palestine were recorded on April 20.

Sir Roger de Coverley

The Coverley Library

I recently received a summons from my good friend Sir Roger to confer with him. Accordingly, I waited upon him, finding him in a state of perturbation at the prospect of a visit from no less a personage than the Widow.

Of the condition of the estate he had little anxiety, trusting to the invaluable services of his servants in this regard, but a great doubt had seized him in regard to the fitness of his library for the eyes of a person of such nicety of taste. At his request I therefore told over to him the best of the new books that had come to my attention, and we hit upon the following:

First upon our list we set a book by a young scholar[1] whom I hold in the highest esteem. It was perhaps rather with an idea to looking into it himself than with a view to the Widow that he ordered it, though I could not but be pleased, for I knew that he would enjoy it.

Recalling the Widow's taste for obscure poets, I was led to suggest the works of Thomas Randolph,[2] which have just been published in the original quaint spelling.

Sir Roger was anxious that our books should not all be too modern, so we considered what we might add to bridge over the interval since he had last purchased. I therefore recommended "A Voice from the Crowd"[3] as a book that I had seen often and well reviewed, enjoying the quotations from it that I had heard. Also, "The Diplomatic Background of the War,"[4] a book I knew to be printed for the fourth time, although it has been issued from the press but a year.

Sir Roger asked whether there were not another volume by Bagdad. By this I knew him to mean Charles S. Brooks, as I had fortunately pleased his fancy by the copy of "Journeys to Bagdad"[5] I procured at Christmas. I unfortunately could not supply him with another as yet, but I was able to tell him in confidence that there was likely to be another before next Christmas.

And so, rejoicing at the old gentleman's evident pleasure in our choice of books, I left in order that I might obtain the books with such dispatch that they should arrive well in advance of the Widow. THE SPECTATOR.

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[1]STUDIES IN THE PROBLEM OF SOVEREIGNTY. By Harold J. Laski. $2.50 net.

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Proceedings at the Semi-Centennial Dinner

The Biltmore, April 19, 1917*

The Editor's Speech of Welcome

GENTLEMEN: It gives me much pleasure to welcome you to this postponed celebration of the *Nation's* semi-centennial anniversary. If I may judge by the letters which I have received during the past week from those who are prevented from being with us by residing at great distances from New York and because of their professional duties, this gathering, if held under less difficult conditions, would be swelled to several hundred. One letter I should like to read. It comes from far-distant Alberta.

> Dear Sir, I cannot dine with you.
> The way is long, and, *entre nous*,
> Too costly for my slender hoard.
> But have I not dined at your board
> Week in, week out, this many a year
> On *menus* still to memory dear?
> "The Week's" keen hits, your foes to flatten,
> Are cocktails of the true Manhattan;
> While soup and fish, good nourishment,
> Are in the Editorials pent;
> And, for the *pièce de résistance*,
> Perchance Paul Elmer for the nonce—
> Philosophy (thank God, not German!),
> Or a spicy "roast" from Stuart Sherman;
> And then the Letters, sage or gay,
> Serve well enough for *entremets;*
> While your Reviewers in a trice
> Hand hapless authors out an "ice,"
> Or (rarely in these latter days)
> Decant the sparkling wine of praise—
> With thanks then for your invitation
> I'll dine, Dear Sir—on next week's *Nation.*
>
> EDMUND KEMPER BROADUS.

The celebration will not be without profit if its purpose is carried out of creating some sense of union among the *Nation's* many friends. The *Nation,* rather more, I suspect, than any other public journal, is a communistic enterprise—the limits of the earth being the community. It is dependent for its quality, especially, upon the devotion of a large staff of contributors. The *Nation* may well be proud of this staff. Started and formed by the patient and discriminating labors of Mr. Garrison, the literary editor, whose self-effacement often hid his brilliant achievements, it has grown into an organic body of specialists. To discover specialists is of course not so difficult, but to hit upon a man who knows, let us say, his Boethius or his Spooks—for let me assure you that the *Nation has* an expert in spooks—yet who also has the sanity to see the proper significance of his small preserve in relation to the great Universe of Knowledge—there's the rub! Mr. Garrison marked out clearly the principles of his wise selection, and his successors have attempted to follow them conscientiously. It is indeed an inspiration for the editor—who may call himself an impresario—to feel that even the wide range of interests turned up by this vast war (by which the histories of the various countries of almost the entire world have successively come into prominence) cannot quite baffle his collaborators. Is it Mesopotamia which is for the moment in the foreground? There resides not far from New York one who is ready to tell us all about the Hittites—the same Hittites who, according to credulous correspondents, dug the canals that for a time proved such an embarrassment to present military operations. And so it goes. Yet I would not imply that the *Nation's* staff is not still growing, but merely that the standard has been set by which new additions to the staff are made. And it is indeed encouraging that young men and women are asking for admission who appreciate that the style and logic of the mere journalist adventurer (for all his first-hand experience) are not the qualifications desired; that their vividness, if they write from personal observation, must be controlled by common-sense and perhaps by even a certain cynicism fostered by an acquaintance with the world's history.

I desire also to testify to the helpfulness of the readers who write Letters to the Editor. Even if we could forget, they would make it impossible for us to forget, that the *Nation* has traditions to live up to. One might suppose from their solicitude that the *Nation* were the sole guardian of the English language, so touchy are they if usage varies from that approved by the original editors. This, let me assure you, is a difficult level to maintain. Fortunately, the New English Dictionary covers a world of linguistic sins, and the editor has tremblingly had frequent recourse to it, usually to find himself sustained. Yet such readers do, by their long memories, prevent a too-easy acceptance on the part of the *Nation* of the new colloquial expressions. Can a whale lie prone upon its back? With more than the usual trepidation the editor went to his friend and counsellor seeking good authority for this phrase, passed at the last minute under considerable pressure of work. Behold! not only can a whale do this—a whale, whose behavior has been peculiar ever since the day of the old "Physiologus" when a whale served as a floating, inhabited island—but a man can fall "prone backward" and can lie "prone on his side with his face upturned." How manfully the *Nation* has fought the losing fight to keep within their rightful provinces such sinners as "secure" "practically" "stand for"—the Lord He knows. But without being meticulous, the *Nation* can perhaps do more than a bit, by the co-operation of its readers, to prevent the English language from leading too licentious a career.

These are prison-house secrets—known to most of you.

*It was thought fitting that this celebration, which had for various reasons to be postponed from 1915, should take place at the time of a great national crisis, and that the *Nation* should thus be intimately associated, as it has been associated in the past, with the profoundest interests of the country.

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But there is a larger aspect of this celebration to which it is proper for me to call attention.

If the celebration had for sufficient reasons to be postponed from 1915, in July of which year the *Nation* had completed fifty years of continuous existence, it is eminently fitting that it should come at the time of a great national crisis, such as we definitely face to-day. For the war, as we are now agreed, has developed into a bitter struggle between democracy and autocracy, and in questions of democracy the *Nation* may call itself something of a specialist. Mr. Godkin, its founder, came to this country bringing with him a first-hand acquaintance with the governments of Europe. He saw their strength as well as their weakness. He saw the weaknesses, too, of a democracy, unlike most born Americans who accepted it as God-given and inferred that it could never really be destroyed. It is safe to say that, under Godkin's impulse, the *Nation* more than any other journal has kept the people's eyes fixed upon the sound fundamental elements of democracy. To him, at least, it was a matter of concern that a democracy had been called "a perpetual *tour de force*." It was indeed this very risk in a democracy which whetted his zeal and stimulated his study. A perusal of back files of the *Nation* reveals rather surprisingly the insistence which he placed upon this central problem of the country. While he was apparently engrossed in the many cantankerous questions which have stirred up this community and the whole land, he viewed them all with reference to their place in a good, efficient democracy.

It is because of this that the *Nation* approaches the present crisis, huge as it is, with some sense of familiarity, and with a supreme confidence in the outcome. If democracy is at stake, as it has appeared to be, then the entrance of America into this vast struggle can, to the *Nation*, mean but one thing. For to a journal committed to democratic principles as the most effective of human instruments and convinced that this country holds such principles to be dearer than life, it would be inconceivable that the forces of democracy should not prevail. Thus America takes to the Allies a treasure far greater than the vast physical resources which she can command, in firing their imagination with the spectacle of a peaceful, liberty-loving democracy bent solely upon the mission of overthrowing the relics of old-world tyranny.

But huge as are the difficulties to be surmounted before the new order can be installed, the *Nation* is already looking with impatience to the great problems of reconstruction which will await solution after the war. It is there that this country will contribute a strong influence and will in turn feel the influence of Europe. For America, flocking by herself, has grown too confident of her ability to work out to her satisfaction whatever troublesome questions might arise. Spared as yet the special brand of Prussian efficiency, we have still been prone to trust to our modern social machinery to smoothe out our differences almost automatically. So busy have been our researchers into the conditions of society and so voluminous their reports, so many and so helpful have been the reforms which have resulted from acquaintance with mere outward conditions, that to some it has appeared that the brotherhood of man might be consummated by economic fiat alone. Godkin with remarkable foresight saw the perils of such a belief, and the *Nation* has inherited and tried to perpetuate his opposition to it. Now it is quite possible that America may gain a real blessing from this bitter war by finding the corrective for such easy philosophy. For, while to Godkin and to other discerning ones it was apparent that the crown could be put upon democracy only by quickening the conscience of the individual citizen as well as of the community at large, the people as a whole will never see the problem in this clear light without first experiencing bitter setbacks. Revolutionary changes cannot be expected without a preliminary chastening of the spirit. Europe has now had that chastening. The force of individual character has been felt, and the great sacrifices of nations have been seen to be the accumulated sacrifices and sufferings of individuals. The losses and sufferings which even America must expect by entering this war will, let us hope, prevent her, as by force of habit she has done in the past, from thinking of democracy as a prize easily achieved and secured.

In taking some credit to itself for its present outlook the *Nation* is but rendering tribute to its founder, whose policy of liberal conservatism it has steadfastly endeavored to maintain. As one of our contributors has shrewdly pointed out, a liberal conservative organ is much to be preferred to a bigoted radical, and the *Nation*, never more confidently than in this present day of vast overnight changes, looks to see a marked reaction from the mass of radical propaganda with which the country and the world have latterly been flooded. Noble human beings have come and gone for centuries and have perpetuated their nobility in institutions and societies, and it is not for the first free-thinking man that turns up to exhort us to throw the entire past overboard. The past and the present have many traditions in behalf of which some of us, thank heaven! are willing to hold the fort against all comers.

There is an apparent paradox in the spectacle before us to-day. Governments are changing with extraordinary rapidity, yet each change produces a sense of increasing stability in the world's total forces. And the reason is that the changes are not machine-made. Democracy is having its innings, and democracy, to be successful, cannot ride rough-shod over what the world has always held most dear. It is because the nations of the earth have been stirred to the depths that we may trust confidently in the future and be assured that the grand reconstruction awaiting us will be a thoroughly human reconstruction and will result in a world in which we shall be glad to live.

Hon. John Bassett Moore

IT is now nearly sixty-four years since the founder of the *Nation*, who was then proceeding, as youthful correspondent of the London *Daily News*, to the seat of impending war in the Orient, called, on the voyage from Marseilles to Constantinople, at Smyrna in Asiatic Turkey. Ordinarily, there would be nothing in such a visit specially to impress the recollection; but at that particular juncture the port, whose tranquillity usually is disturbed only by the wordy altercations of rival boatmen, was still reverberating with the echoes of an incident which attracted world-wide attention. Of this incident the name of the central figure, the Hungarian refugee, Martin Koszta, survives in association with certain legal misconceptions, the correction of which has been rendered difficult by popular contentment with the belief that the representatives of the United States, in res-

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cuing from injury one who was understood to be entitled to protection, gave in those distant waters a gratifying manifestation of the national power. In witnessing the local effects of this demonstration, Edwin Lawrence Godkin no doubt received his most vivid early impression of the exuberance of spirit and pervasiveness of the American democracy.

The United States had then reached the summit of the second stage of its political development. The impressive lessons furnished by the War of Independence, and by the years that immediately succeeded it, of the necessity of a definite and effective central authority produced the Federalist movement, which resulted in the formation of the Constitution of the United States. After this unique consummation, Federalism, as if exhausted by its prescient but unrequited toil, rapidly declined; and the great democratic movement, of which the revolution was itself a premonition, was soon in full swing. In due time the effects of this movement were everywhere manifest, in foreign as well as in domestic affairs. While the franchise was broadened and political institutions were popularized at home, sympathy was exhibited with revolutionary movements both in South America and in other quarters of the globe. During the Greek struggle for independence, a political philosopher in the western part of the State of New York declared that he could furnish to the cause "five hundred men six feet high with sinewy arms and case-hardened constitutions, bold spirits and daring adventurers, who would travel upon a bushel of corn and a gallon of whiskey per man from the extreme part of the world to Constantinople," while, if the Holy Alliance should actually take sides with Spain against her former American colonies, his "backwoodsmen" would "spring with the activity of squirrels" to their assistance. Less than two years before the name of Koszta became famous, the visit of Kossuth to the United States caused an agitation which led thoughtful men to doubt whether rules of policy, handed down from the Fathers and regarded as axiomatic, would prove to be an effective barrier against sudden tides of popular emotion; nor were they consoled by the reflection that the popular impressions, from which the excitement sprang, were in many respects unfounded. These were indeed the budding days when the diplomatic representatives of the United States were expected to exhibit "American feeling"; when it was first enjoined upon them, as a mark of devotion to Republican institutions, to appear at foreign courts "in the simple dress of an American citizen"—an injunction which, even if it occasioned perplexity, left ample scope to individual tastes and reminiscences.

As a new and rapidly developing country in which democracy and self-government found a larger opportunity than had ever before existed, the United States presented to young, aspiring, zealous minds in all parts of the world an attraction which can scarcely be exaggerated. It is true that a wave of democratic sentiment had also swept over Europe, but it seemed to be in danger of spending its force in its encounter with established institutions. In America, there was a broad and open field, and there existed a widespread and generous expectation that democracy would in its unobstructed development work out results altogether benevolent.

The founder of the *Nation* was one among thousands who came to the United States in the fifth decade of the last century, as he himself declared, "with high and fond ideals." Nor were his expectations dashed by the civil strife which soon afterwards ensued. Although his experiences in the Crimea had taught him to feel an abhorrence of war, the fact that the conflict in the United States resulted in the abolition of slavery invested it in the minds of many with an elevation of purpose which served to mitigate its horrors and to justify its sacrifices. But it had also become apparent that government, even under the most democratic conditions, was not exempt from the operation of malevolent influences; that there were not wanting those who would seek to make use of enhanced governmental powers for the furtherance of individual interests and ambitions, political, social, and financial; and that strenuous efforts would be necessary to resist the tendency towards a mere materialistic imperialism. While important problems had been solved, others had been created, not the least of which was a certain disorganization, marked by the propensity which the exercise of arbitrary power, incident to a state of war, had stimulated, to attain results without too close attention to the legality or the morality of the means.

It was an appreciation of these elements of weakness and of danger in political and social conditions, and of the importance of establishing in journalism a high educational standard and influence, that inspired the founding of the *Nation*. It was felt that there should be an organ of opinion characterized in its utterances by breadth and deliberation, an organ which should identify itself with causes, and which should give its support to parties primarily as representatives of those causes. In this conception there was logically embraced the principle of independence in politics and of freedom from party fealty and control. And with these things there was to be combined the highest type of literary excellence.

This programme enlisted the coöperation of a number of men of exceptional intelligence and cultivation, among whom it is only just to single out, for special mention, the editor for many years of the literary department, Wendell Phillips Garrison. It also powerfully appealed to the hopes and the imagination of young men, encouraging them to enter public life rather with a view to improve political conditions than to turn them to personal advantage.

To enumerate the subjects with the discussion of which the *Nation* came to be identified would merely be to enumerate the principal questions that have occupied the public mind during the past half century. Of the causes which it earliest espoused, perhaps its founder would have given the post of honor to the reform of the civil service. Certainly this was to a great extent the product of his initiative and his fostering care. Regarded as something European rather than American, it at first excited little interest, and was flippantly assigned to the category of things visionary or futile. Little by little, however, it was forced upon the public attention. With a zeal that never flagged, and a wealth of intellectual resource seldom witnessed, the contest was carried on for twenty years till at length the principle of merit was incorporated in legislative and administrative measures, national and State; and, in spite of all reverses, and of many untoward incidents, the application of the principle has been extended with the support of public sentiment.

Next to the reform of the civil service, we may mention, as a cause with which the *Nation* is specially identified,

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the struggle for the maintenance of sound principles of finance. Great wars, if they last long enough, give rise to an inflation of the currency. With taxes necessarily inadequate to meet current demands, credit is at length strained to the point at which the aid of the printing press is invoked. Such came to be the situation in the United States during the Civil War; and after the war a large public debt, heavy taxes, financial panics, and industrial uncertainties produced their usual crop of shifty and short-sighted proposals. From first to last the *Nation* advocated a sound and stable currency based on actual values, and no journalistic influence was more active and efficient than that which it contributed to the triumph of that cause.

The founder of the *Nation* once remarked that he was "brought up in the Mill-Grote school of radicals." He therefore naturally espoused the cause of tariff reform, with the abolition of duties distinctively protective as his goal. If, in the advocacy of this cause, the success of the *Nation* has been less striking than in the cases previously mentioned, this circumstance may be ascribed to the fact that, while free traders and tariff reformers are accustomed to consider the eventual political and social effects of the protective system as the chief point at issue, the general public is more directly affected by what seem to be the immediate pecuniary results. On the other hand, in the case of causes in which the moral issue can be more readily presented, such as ballot reform and improved municipal government, the advances that have been achieved have been most notable.

It may be said of the *Nation*, as was said of the achievements of an earlier time, that the past at least is secure. But in the history of peoples occasions arise when, to use the phrase of Burke, they seem to stand on the verge of great mutations. After the war with Spain, the superficial remark was often heard that the United States had become a "world Power." In reality the advent of the United States into the family of nations was one of the most important events in history; yet it is no doubt true that in many minds the position of a world Power is associated with the tenure of distant possessions and a participation in political and commercial alliances. In the main the United States has avoided entanglements of a political character; but in recent days the very fundamentals of our previous policy have been brought into discussion, and a momentous step has lately been taken that will involve momentous decisions hereafter.

Down to a comparatively recent time the policy of the United States was governed by certain cardinal principles which were regarded as practically immutable. Of these the first and foremost was that of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, and particularly of abstention from all participation in the political arrangements of Europe. John Adams records in his diary that on a certain occasion Richard Oswald, who represented Great Britain in the peace negotiations with the United States in 1782, remarked: "You are afraid of being made the tool of the Powers of Europe." "Indeed I am," said Adams. "What Powers?" asked Oswald. "All of them," responded Adams. Adams further declared that the Powers of Europe would be continually manœuvring "to work us into their real or imaginary balance of power," since we might "very often, if not always, be able to turn the scale"; but that he thought "it ought to be our rule not to meddle," and that the European Powers ought not to desire or even permit us to interfere if they could help it.

Of the policy of non-intervention, the system of neutrality was a logical derivative, as was also the recognition of governments as existing entities, and not as legitimate, or illegitimate, or as lawful or unlawful, under the local constitution. The Monroe Doctrine itself was but the correlative of the principle of non-intervention. "Our first and fundamental maxim," said Jefferson, should be "never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs."

By preserving these principles, it was believed that the United States would best contribute to the preservation of peace, abroad as well as at home. But from time to time the public attitude changes, perhaps not deliberately, but suddenly, as the result of events which appeal to the imagination or stir the emotions.

In days not remote proposals have been made the real significance of which is perhaps scarcely appreciated by most of their supporters. Leagues and alliances of all kinds are in the air, and are often discussed with an easy and ready confidence suggestive of the supposition that facts can be created by phrases and that to speak of enforcing peace is equivalent to its permanent preservation. No doubt there are some who comprehend what the commitment to engagements of this character would involve. That such a plan may not to some extent or in some form be adopted, no one can safely predict. But, however this may be, there is one truth which we should not fail to bear in mind, and that is that no league ever was formed for the attainment of certain objects by force which was not sooner or later required to face the stern reality of armed conflict in the pursuit of that design. In such circumstances nothing is so likely to invite disaster as the neglect of rational and necessary precautions. Even apart from what has lately taken place, it must be admitted that, so far as the United States is concerned, the course of developments during the past twenty years has not been such as to justify expectations of continued and increasing tranquillity. Even in the matter of international arbitration, the boasts of recent progress, of which so much has been heard, will not bear the test of scrutiny; for it is demonstrable that, for very definite reasons, it is more difficult to secure the arbitration of questions by the United States to-day than it was a hundred years ago. This is only one of many facts that should impress upon us the lesson that, unless recent tendencies are to change and recent proposals are to come to naught, military and naval preparations must be carried out not fitfully, but systematically and permanently, on a larger and more general scale than has ever been attempted heretofore.

The faith of the American people in their future is justified by the record of the past; but the day never will come when the country will not need for its guidance and safety not only the combined wisdom, intelligence, and foresight of all its component parts, but also that spirit of patriotic devotion which, while fruitful of sacrifices for the common good, numbers among its manifestations that uncompromising integrity in the discussion of public questions which the late Wayne MacVeagh had in mind when he declared that the founder of the *Nation* had for many years been "beyond all question the best force by far in American politics."

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The Marquess of Aberdeen

IT is indeed a privilege and a delight to be admitted to this goodly fellowship, and I appreciate all the more now its characteristic in that respect, after the very genial and cordial welcome which you have been good enough to extend to me, in response to the kind introduction of our chairman; and I of course value the privilege of being here to-night, none the less, because this gathering, notwithstanding its public interest and its public significance, is, in a very real sense, what might be described as a family gathering; and we all know, when there is a family festival—for instance, the celebration of an anniversary—it is customary for the family to invite as many as possible of their friends to be present on the occasion of the celebration. Certainly on this occasion the family of the *Nation* has succeeded in gathering a most distinguished company of friends and well-wishers, whom it is a privilege to see and to meet. This surely will not only be a gratification, but an encouragement to those who conduct the *Nation* in pursuance of their great and responsible work.

With such a manifestation of good-will and of confidence in the *Nation* on the part of men who count, men who have made their mark, and will continue to make it more and more, I say it is a notable occasion, and one which I know our friends of the *Nation* will enjoy, and they will go forward in their way, renewed with fresh energy and determination to be worthy of their work and of their traditions. We are told that this is a deferred meeting—well, sometimes postponements are not altogether a success; but, as things have turned out, I think it will be felt that it was a happy chance that the postponement should have been made in this case, because now you are assembled in the midst of this—I won't call it a crisis—but this tremendous epoch which has been brought about by the joining of the United States of America, surely we may say at the right time and in the right way, in the world conflict that is being fought on the side of righteousness and the maintenance of honor and truth and justice.

Who can overestimate the significance of this great event? And if anything were needed to add to our sense of the imposing, the solemn importance of the moment, it is in the announcement of the imminent arrival of a mission from Great Britain and from France, pregnant with value and far-reaching influence, a mission which I suppose is absolutely unprecedented in its character and in the magnitude of that with which it is charged. How earnestly we shall all look to the result of those conferences, and invoke the blessing of the Almighty upon them!

In taking the liberty of making these prefatory remarks, I am not forgetting, Mr. Chairman, that you were good enough to call upon me especially as one who has been associated with affairs in Ireland. It is quite true that I have been thrown in contact with that extraordinary country, full of interest and full of attractions. You laugh because I call it extraordinary: well, I met a man who has been head of a collegiate institution for twenty years, an Irishman, one of the most lovable of men, and I said to him, "You must have learned a great deal about this country, and you must now be quite an authority." He said: "Well, Lord Aberdeen, I have learned, at any rate, in twenty years, how difficult it is to understand Ireland." Of course, he did understand it. In speaking in a summarized way, I think we may say that, while there is any amount of difference of opinion in regard to what ought to be done as to Ireland, there is a consensus as to this, that things require readjustment in Ireland; that the state of things is not satisfactory. You may say that is a self-evident proposition. I said it is an unsatisfactory condition, but I am far from saying that the position is without rays of hope and promise, as I shall venture to indicate more fully in a moment.

Now, there are three main lines of suggestion and advocacy as to what ought to be done. One of these is what was once described by the late Lord Salisbury as "twenty years of resolute government." I suppose that was a euphemism for a system which has been described in a single word; namely, coercion. Now, perhaps you may say that this is played out and futile, a course that has been discredited. Well, it is very extraordinary that it should not be altogether discredited. You would have thought that, after seven hundred years of failure in that particular line, everybody would have come to the conclusion that it should be abandoned. Yet I am afraid I cannot say absolutely that it is out of date. What happened the other day in the House of Commons? Mr. Redmond was speaking, and in the course of his speech he was alluding with regret to the strange tendency on the part of some people to believe in that very system; and, as an illustration of that peculiar tendency, he mentioned the fact that some Member of Parliament, he was told, had actually said that he, posing to be one of the most loyal of the loyalists, of the most patriotic of patriots, from the English point of view, would, if he had the chance, have voted for the Sinn Fein. On this, up got the very individual alluded to from his place, and Mr. Redmond instantly resumed his seat, perhaps expecting a contradiction, or at least a correction. And this gentleman said: "What I said was this—that I would have voted for the Sinn Fein, in order to help to smash your party. That is what I said." Mr. Redmond remarked: "I think we must admire the Honorable Member's candor." That was a very generous way of putting it. I should have said "his extraordinary arrogance." Of course what that member meant—and I might as well give you his name: his name is Newman, and he sits for an English constituency, called Enfield—what he meant was that if the Sinn Feins were encouraged a little to make a disturbance, then would come the heavy hand of military authority and would crush them down, and crush the whole of the people of Ireland for a time, indefinitely—that is the idea.

Now, to go to another section, the opposite extreme: we know that there are a number of most sincere persons who have persuaded themselves that the true remedy for Irish trouble is absolute independence—severance from England; an Irish republic, in fact. I noticed the other day, I suppose we all noticed with great satisfaction, that the representatives of this group, this section, or whatever you may call it, issued an address to the President of the United States of America, saying that they would at once take their proper place as loyal citizens of the United States in support of the declaration of war. Well, that is very creditable. I hope they won't get into trouble with some of their former friends, to whom they made a different manifestation some time ago. We are always glad to receive the prodigal son. At any rate, that is their idea, and I hope they will show

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their sincerity by recruiting and so forth. But they finish the happy manifesto by saying that they look to America's entering the war especially with the hope that at the conclusion America will come forward and claim freedom for Ireland. Now, freedom in that connection means independence, that is quite obviously a republic.

Now, gentlemen, if I believed that an Irish republic was the best thing for Ireland, I would vote for it to-morrow. If it is good for Ireland, it would be good for England, because we all know the troubles of Ireland have been the troubles of England.

I am not for a moment ignoring the fact that the two countries are bound to live together, and they must live in amity if they are to live happily and successfully; but, as to this idea of an independent republic, there is an obstacle which is not always recognized. It is this: as you know, the main industry and occupation of the people of Ireland is farming. The majority of the population are farmers, or connected with agriculture. Now, we all remember that the one thing needful for a farmer is a sure market. A man in other professions or lines of life can, if he is not succeeding in one place, go to another; but the farmer cannot, because he has got a farm and has to make it pay, and the only way to make it pay is by selling the produce. Now, the chief and only market for Irish produce is Britain.

According to official figures, we find that, as to food supply, Ireland sends as much food products to Great Britain as the whole of the United States; that is, in recent years. The figures for the year before the war were as follows: Ireland sent £33,000,000 sterling worth of food products to Britain. The United States also sent £33,000,000 worth of food products. The Argentine Republic sent £31,000,000; Denmark, £21,000,000; British India, £18,500,000; Canada, £18,000,000; Russia, £15,500,000; Australia, £14,500,000; the Netherlands, £14,000,000, and New Zealand, £9,000,000. Moreover, analyzing this statement a little more, we find that four-ninths of the cattle and beef imported into Great Britain from all the countries is from Ireland, and a quarter of the total pig supplies—that won't surprise us, I suppose. That is the regular industry—half the poultry, a quarter of the eggs, and one-seventh of the butter.

Now, these figures are for the year before the war, and therefore represent normal times, and it follows that during the war, of course, there has been an increase in many heads. Moreover, it is only fair to say that, in response to the advocacy of the injunctions of the Government of Britain in connection with food, the Irish farmers have brought 83,000 more acres under tillage. That has been a great increase, and it has been a great increase in the production of meat for the British market, in spite of the temptation of high prices; but Irish farmers have followed, in the main, the advice of the Department of Agriculture, and have increased their live stock; I mean, in spite of the temptation to sell off the stock and catch immediate prices, they have gone on to take care of breeding, instead of allowing it to be depleted; and the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture gave figures in a recent speech showing that the farmers, north, south, east, and west, had all alike taken part in this increase of production.

I bring in these figures for the purpose of reminding you how absolutely the Irish farmers depend upon Britain for their market. Now, if Ireland was independent, severed from England, it is obvious that, in the unhappy event of a war between England and some other country, Ireland might or might not be in an alliance, and if Ireland was not in conjunction with England in the matter, in one day every Irish port could be closed and not a ton of food could go away. What would happen to the Irish farmer? Well, he knows very well what would happen, and therefore, though he is not going to shout from the housetops, "I don't want independence, I only want Home Rule," he just stops quiet. In fact, you will find, when the time comes, he will take care to fight, not for independence, but for Home Rule; that is, in connection and in harmony with the system of the British Parliament; and that is why I say, in my humble opinion, this idea of independence is not a feasible thing. It is not a practical thing. I am not talking about loyalty or anything of that sort. If I was an Irishman, I should be inclined to say, looking at the past, "What reason have I to be loyal?"—but "Let bygones be bygones" is the true and wise policy.

The third section of opinion is, of course, what may be called the Constitutional party's programme, the party headed by Mr. Redmond, with the admirable colleagueship and help of such men as Mr. Dillon and others.

I cannot help alluding to the report in to-day's press of the remarkable debate in the House of Commons on the occasion of the celebration of the announcement of America's entry into the war. I think those who read the speeches will say that they were worthy of a great occasion; and if I may be allowed to say so, as a British subject, Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Asquith spoke in a way which I think must be appreciated in this country. But they were not alone; Mr. Dillon spoke for the Irish Parliament. He spoke with confidence, not only as to the value of this great event, but in confidence that Irishmen here would respond. I am glad he did. He said he looked forward with confident hopes—and it is a very good thing, when you want the people to do a thing, to assume that they will do it, to show confidence in them. Until I read this speech, about expecting what the Irish would do, I did not realize fully the real significance of Nelson's celebrated signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty." There are two kinds of expectation. You say to a taxi driver: "Now, look here, I expect you to come at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, sharp." You mean, you will have a very poor opinion of him if he does not turn up, sharp. But you say to a friend: "I expect you to-morrow to luncheon." You expect him, because he is a good fellow and won't disappoint you; and so, Mr. Dillon gives credit to these Irishmen that they will not disappoint you, and that you and I and all of us will come forward to try to effect a solution of the difficulty. In the past they may have put themselves, to some extent, in the wrong; but now they have a chance of putting themselves in the right; and surely, from what my friends have been saying, the one thing needful to cement the happy brotherhood between Britain and America is that this sore, this trouble of the Irish, and the old worry and discontent, should be obliterated, and there is no reason why it should not be. That is why I speak of rays of hope, and more than that, because we are told, this very day, that the scheme which was "adumbrated"—as my friend Mr. Balfour would say—by way of an endeavor to solve the Irish struggle on the part of Britain, is going to be promulgated; and I think we may say that there will be really a readiness to respond in the right spirit.

You know we hear of speeches about the iniquity of

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England, and so on. Well, I say "Let bygones be bygones"; but as to the England of to-day, it is a mistake to talk of England doing this and that and the other iniquitous thing. If by England is meant the English people, I say the English people, the English democracy, has no ill-will towards Ireland. Why should they have any? On the contrary, they are longing to see the trouble adjusted and healed and done away with.

It must be admitted that there was a very deplorable period at the time of the executions and so on, which I know disappointed some very good American friends; but that, we trust, may be relegated to the limbo of the past. Now that there is a chance of a true remedy, all efforts should be bent on seeing that it is carried out.

I must be allowed, before I sit down, to allude also to the manner in which Irishmen have shown their readiness to let bygones be bygones; namely, in the splendid manner in which so many of them have rallied to the colors in defence of what they know and believe to be right. May I just give these figures also? According to official figures, 173,722 Irishmen, from Ireland itself, are now serving in the navy and army of Britain; and, from careful inquiries made in Great Britain from all sources, it is calculated that at least 150,000 Irishmen, most of them born in Ireland, had joined the colors in Great Britain. It is further calculated that from 20 to 25 per cent. of all the troops from the Oversea Dominions, Canada, Australia, and so on, are men of Irish blood. And I think it was a very touching and very significant thing, when the first batch of Victoria Crosses were awarded for bravery, for gallantry in the war—and you know, gentlemen, the Victoria Cross is the most coveted reward which a British soldier can attain, because he knows, and the world knows, that it is not given in an easy manner; it is not given in a way that might in any sense lower its prestige; it is never given without the fullest inquiry and record; it is given to the private soldier as to the officer, and it must be proved that he did something of a conspicuous sort, in gallantry, and especially in neglect of his own safety—well, out of the first ninety, thirty of those marks of valor for brave duty were awarded to Irish soldiers.

Therefore, I present to you the case in this light, that, though we are not out of the wood yet, there are strong hopes existing that, long as the night of sorrow remains, there will yet be the dawn after the night.

Last of all, I wish to be allowed to thank my kind hosts for my being here this evening. It is something more than a personal matter; because I think my admission is a sign—and I call it a seal—of that generous readiness in this country, not only to extend a welcome to an outsider—I certainly do not feel like a stranger, in view of the welcome—but to allow a person, if he is at all worthy of the privilege, to take his part in the life of the community; to become, while he is a sojourner, in a sense a participant in what is going on.

I feel it is a great privilege to have my name put down for a time as a member of the Century Club, and to-day of the Metropolitan. And I look upon this invitation as a sign and a seal of that readiness to do more than welcome a visitor as a mere passing traveller. It is a mutual thing. It is this kind of intercourse which does good.

My friends, as I may now call you, the chairman tells me that comparatively early in life he had occasion to visit England, and the cordiality and the kindness he received obliterated from his mind any notions he may have got from little school books which depicted England as an elderly dame, no better than she should be. Well, he had the sympathetic readiness to take things as he found them, and he was made to feel at home. Mark Twain said at a meeting something which had more than immediate significance. After a severe illness, which had coincided with an illness of Rudyard Kipling, during which inquiries had gone backwards and forwards across the Atlantic between Mark Twain and Rudyard Kipling, Mark Twain said, at the Savage Club: "Well, gentlemen, I have been concocting a sort of pun, and I will now give it to you—'England and America, which have been brought nigh in Kipling, will not be divided in Twain.'"

M. Marcel Knecht

MR. CHAIRMAN and gentlemen: I am deeply touched by the very sympathetic way in which you are showing to France how you feel for her. Let me thank you very heartily. His Excellency M. Jusserand has not been able to come to-day; you understand why, Mr. President. He is extremely busy in the last preparations for the reception of the French Mission, and I must tell you frankly that he sincerely regrets not to have been able to come to-night, to tell you, and to tell all of your friends, university professors, literary writers, and thinkers of the United States, how he was and how he is interested in the *Nation's* fine work. M. Jusserand considers that in a great young country, as this one, a remarkable review like the *Nation*, which deals with high problems, and which represents the brains of the United States, is important for everybody; that every friend of the United States, every Frenchman, every Englishman, every Russian, every friend of the Orient, should come to the *Nation* and should bring more closely in touch the writers of Europe, the writers of Asia, with the writers and the thinkers of the United States. Before this war, even among the Allies—I am speaking on behalf of France—we have not been enough in touch with one another. We did not know enough about you, friends of the United States; and some of you did not know enough about us. We can assign the reason for that to the ignorance of our languages, and also to the preoccupations we have, both of us, in our respective countries; but, certainly, M. Jusserand has never been as these Frenchmen and these Americans I have mentioned. M. Jusserand has been, first, the Ambassador of France, of a France that is now the sister of the United States. But, though he was the Ambassador of France, when diplomacy did not take all his time, he was always a great literary man. He was a university man. He was fond of his old Shakespeare. He was fond of your fine American poets and writers, and when he could find some minutes outside of the hours he gave to France, and also to the United States, he immediately went back to his former studies. He tried to know better still your great men; and it seems to me, to us Frenchmen, that he tried also to make them better known in France, and very often he succeeded.

Thus, in bringing you his message, I think I bring to you the message of a very great Frenchman, and also of a very fine citizen of the world.

Mr. President and gentlemen, it seems to me that this war, though it is a hard, a very serious crisis for the

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world, has produced some important results in the circles of literature. We have seen intellectuals, great writers, a little too much absorbed in their studies, who had not been in touch with the real living world, with the practical world, with the great centres of life, where sometimes there is as much inspiration as in any individual brain. These fine minds have been happy to work with the nations; they have elected to get into touch with other countries; and, to give you an example—I take it from my country, because I know it better—we have seen these great men, whom you know, working with England, working with Italy, working with Russia, working with the United States. We have seen a man such as Maurice Barrès, leaving France, or leaving his native Lorraine, to go to Italy, to find a kind of intellectual brotherhood, and altogether a political brotherhood with D'Annunzio. We have seen Paul Adam working still more closely with South America. We have seen such men as those two great philosophers, Emile Boutroux and Henri Bergson, having a still closer touch—not only a literary, not only an artistic, touch, but a real human touch—with the people of the United States; and, on the other hand, when you read the names of those representatives coming from France and from England, when you see such a name as the name of Balfour, don't think that this man is only a great statesman; he is also a great scholar; he is an eminent philosopher and writer, and is evidence that men who were perhaps a trifle on the heights are now coming down, are now coming into the fight, and coming into the fight with their great ideals to be in touch with this free people.

You see, too, a man like Viviani, one of our finest speakers, a man who has effected the organization of the Socialist party in France—this man is coming here, too, because he thinks that it is not only the turn of politicians, but also the turn of brains to offer their services. Here is another remarkable thing in this war: the mobilization, not only of men, not only of women, but the mobilization of brains. And this has been needed; it is a good thing, because brains are never working on brutal lines. With brains, there is always the hope of a better understanding, and of a recognition of justice and of liberty. Brain is not a mysterious unknown; brain is sometimes the great representation of the national spirit; and it seems to me, as it seems to you, gentlemen of the *Nation*, that when, in France, all of us partake of the national spirit, we must be certain that in the end things will come right.

We are here to-day to celebrate a great day for you, members of the *Nation*, and what is extremely moving is that you have chosen, voluntarily or luckily, the great day of this American nation: you have chosen this day of Lexington, which represents in your national life an imperishable date. By choosing this date, the *Nation* has chosen a date which is most pleasant and most touching to us Frenchmen. You know that in France we indulge our national enthusiasm and spirit on the day on which our great General, born in Alsace, General Kellerman, won the victory of Valmy, when, everywhere, the revolutionary French soldiers were shouting "Vive la Nation." This day is a souvenir; it emphasizes our likeness with you. Lexington and Valmy! Those are two great dates in the reciprocal history of France and of the United States. And another comes to join us. I think that this Russian revolution is a revolution of a wonderful nation, and that, later on we shall be able to celebrate the revival of the great Russian people. At the front, the French soldiers, who represent democracy, are fighting harder still to establish democracy in Europe. The nations are awakening, and we can say at this crisis that the war becomes more and more a war of nations against autocracy.

Gentlemen, there is also a small point on which I must insist. The real danger for a democratic nation is to be as selfish sometimes as an autocracy. That which a nation wants to remain and to live up to must be, as we must all try to make it, an unselfish nation. We must be an unselfish nation to be also a humane one. We can be both. We are Nationalists in the highest sense of the word, preserving our rights, preserving our happiness, our homes, and our families; but we must never forget that there are other nations, composed of human beings, with whom in the near future we must try to be on good terms. We must regulate our intercourse with all these great brotherhoods by acts which are inspired by fair play.

There was to-day in New York a great manifestation of the children of your nation. I saw these boys dressed in khaki, dressed in blue, these school-children, marching in a striking way, marching with only one spirit, and responding really as they ought to do, and in a patriotic way, to the high message of that great citizen of humanity, whom we all love and who will have such a great name in the world—I mean President Wilson. It is the message of President Wilson that has aroused this American youth, and which will arouse the American people; and we, who have always been your friends, and who always have been not only your friends, but your brothers, we are overjoyed to see that you are coming with us hand in hand, in the interests of humanity.

Excuse me for occupying your time, especially for delaying the speeches of his Excellency Mr. Wellington Koo, and my Russian friend, Professor Shatsky; but, as the President a few minutes ago invited Lord Aberdeen to say a word about Ireland, and as Lord Aberdeen said more or less than one word about Ireland, and as he said it in a very lofty way, and in a very affectionate way, I take the liberty of mentioning to you that I myself represent also a small nation. I am from Alsace-Lorraine, and as you, my Lord, have some humor as a Scotsman, I must say that this small nation has never had any direct trouble with England, but let me say that it has had some trouble indirectly with England. Our great General, General Humbert, went to Ireland from Lorraine, many years ago, to try to help Ireland in the best manner, and we can also say retrospectively, that a Lorrainer—she was very celebrated, and she is very well liked in the United States, Joan of Arc—was not at a certain time extremely friendly with England. But we must not forget that Joan of Arc had a Scottish guard, and altogether we must not forget—and this is the thing which counts—that yesterday and the day before, the troops of Marshal Haig and the troops of General Nivelle fought shoulder to shoulder, heartily forgetting that Joan of Arc had once fought against England.

Now, let me tell you that, as a citizen of a small nation, I hope that the United States has realized that in the last century France has imported from Alsace-Lorraine, exactly as Ireland has exported to England, all the finest generals, all the bravest soldiers, and many statesmen of France; and it seems to me that really a nation which has thus imported men who represent the national spirit in the highest sense of the word, deserves, especially through the

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breaking of the treaty of Frankfort by Germany, that Alsace and Lorraine come naturally back to France, their ancient mother, because we cannot do without that very fine import of her splendid human material.

Now, gentlemen, let me thank the *Nation* very sincerely for the charming hospitality offered to me, and let me wish that some time in the future the *Nation's* staff and the *Nation's* friends may come to Paris, where we will have a large reception, in honor of the *Nation*, with all the best men of France, of England, of Russia, of Italy, and of the world, who would like to come to meet this great American body.

Hon. V. K. Wellington Koo

MR. CHAIRMAN and gentlemen: I am profoundly sensible of the courtesy which the *Nation* has extended to me in inviting me to be present on this auspicious occasion, and, therefore, before I say anything further, I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation.

As you all realize, in the position which I have the honor to hold, it is somewhat difficult for me to say very much on this occasion, or indeed on any public occasion. I am at once confronted, whenever I arise to address any audience, particularly so distinguished an audience as we have to-night, with the difficulty of either committing an indiscretion or of giving to my remarks that quality with which many of you are familiar—that of Mumm's champagne—extra dry!

In asking me to be present this evening, the chairman, the editor of the *Nation*, was good enough to give me all the details as to the character of the occasion, as to the topics for discussion; but I noticed to my regret that he omitted to give any suggestion as to the suitable language in which I should present myself. I wonder if I could be permitted to address you to-night in my native tongue, because I feel sure that if I could get that privilege, I would be spared much of the embarrassment which now faces me.

I recall an American gentleman who returned to the United States after a short visit to China and made a very successful speech before an American audience—in Chinese! And he did it by mentioning the names of the eighteen provinces in China, amidst great applause. Well, when the war is still going on, when the world is drenched in blood, with all the horrors of war, it is fitting that the thinkers of the *Nation*, the editors of this great periodical, should choose this occasion as an occasion for discussing the problems of reconstruction; the problems which await solution upon the termination of this colossal struggle, which are so great and momentous that, in my humble opinion, the sooner we talk about them the better for all concerned. The thinking portion of the world must be in a state of preparedness to solve the problems of peace, just as the defenders of human rights must be in a state of preparedness to meet the emergency of war; but the problems are so many, and so momentous, that you will certainly forgive me if I should refrain from discussing any of the problems that await solution on the ending of the present struggle. I will take this opportunity to discuss with you, or rather to bring forward the thoughts, some of the thoughts, and some of the ideas and the aspirations, which the people in the Orient are occupied with—the thoughts and ideas which are quickening their hearts. In the first place, they feel that in any reconstruction which may take place after the war the Orient should be included; that the problems of the Far East should receive full consideration. The world has become, by scientific inventions—it has been brought together so closely by the telegraph, the cable, and the telephone, that they feel that the world is to-day very much of a family. The Far East, comprising one-third of the population of the world, with a wealth of resources unsurpassed in other parts of the world, certainly deserves to claim a share in any world reconstruction. Already, for the last two or three decades, many of the momentous problems of the world, many of the problems which have puzzled the best brains in the West, have been problems arising from the Far East, and as the late John Hay said, the centre of political gravity has been shifting gradually from the West to the East. Then they also feel that not only the problems which have arisen and are constantly arising from the Far East should receive full consideration, but also that the voices of the Far East should be heard. They feel that one-third of the population of the world cannot be altogether ignored. They feel that, while they claim equal rights, they also want an opportunity to share the burdens and the responsibilities of establishing an international concord and an international friendship. They feel that any doctrine which purports to thrust the burdens of the world on a single race, is at once unsound and unfair. The burdens of the world are too great for any single race to bear. They should be divided. They should be distributed among the various races of the world. The idea, if I read the thoughts of the Far East exactly, the idea of confining the rule of the world to any single nation, or any single group of nations, is incompatible with the ultimate ideals which we all cherish—that idea of the World Confederation.

In national development, all peoples now are striving for democracy. All peoples are fighting against autocracy. All peoples are striving to share in the conduct of affairs which are of common concern; and it is the feeling of the people in the Far East that, in our efforts to build up a wonderful democracy, in our struggle against world autocracy, the nations should be not merely accorded an abstract equality on paper, but they should be accorded an equality in fact, as well. They feel that they have burdens and responsibilities which they want to discharge, and they feel that they ought to be given a chance to perform their share of the work which is now before the world.

The days of world empire are past. We are now living in a new era, or at least on the eve of a new era. We see the dawning of a new epoch. We are leaving the period of world autocracy behind, and entering upon a new age of world democracy, and the spirit which should inspire us is the spirit of coöperation, of international coöperation.

There is yet another thought which is quickening the hearts of the people in the Far East particularly, which is quickening the hearts of many people in China, and that is, that in any reconstruction to take place hereafter the basis, the foundation, should be built upon that of international justice. They feel that every act of aggression should be made a matter of concern, not only of the oppressed, but also should be made a matter of serious concern to the world at large; for every act of aggression and oppression, if left unchecked and unpunished, is sure to react to the detriment of the security of international society. Every act of international aggression left unchecked will serve not

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only to encourage the arrogance of the aggressor and the oppressor, leading him to further acts of aggression, but it will also so embitter the feelings of the oppressed that we shall soon have the elements necessary for starting up another conflagration to disturb the peace of the world. It is only through international justice, wherever the question arises, it is only by following the principles of international justice and scrupulously following them that we can hope to have a permanent international peace.

Maybe these thoughts and ideas may have something of a visionary character, yet I am an optimist. I cannot believe that these ideals cannot be attained, if all the nations in the world try, and try hard. Here, between China and the United States, we have a very concrete example of how two nations could get along, in perfect understanding and in cordial relationship; 131 years of trade increase, 89 years of missionary work, 73 years of official diplomatic intercourse, and nearly half a century of educational coöperation between the two countries, have all been distinguished by a sustained feeling of friendliness, a friendship that is based upon a mutual desire to respect each other's rights, and an air of mutual good-will to be friendly towards each other; and the result has been that whenever Chinese and Americans meet, they can talk to each other without any mental reservation, with perfect confidence in the good will of each other. There is no friction whatever between us. The two countries are living happily in a state of friendship that grows from day to day. What two countries can accomplish can be duplicated and accomplished by the world at large. It only requires a little process of education to educate the minds of some of the nations to see the folly of any policy of aggression, to realize the wisdom, the tendency of the times, the necessity of placing our international relations on a solid footing of justice; and it is just here, gentlemen, that the press of the world, that the press of any nation can play a very large part, I mean in the process of education.

For fifty years, this periodical, the *Nation*, has stood for justice and fair play. It is true that when the periodical was first founded, it was founded in a year of a great war in Europe. It is true that after fifty years of persistent advocacy of the cause of international justice and a better intercourse among nations, it still finds itself in the midst of a war greater than all previous wars; yet all thoughtful men cannot fail to appreciate the fact that the world, in the last fifty years, has made a great advance. How much of this improvement has been due to the efforts of the *Nation*, to the efforts of this distinguished group of thinkers and writers, no one is prepared to say exactly; but I feel no one will contradict me when I say that the efforts and the services of this paper, in promoting the cause of international justice, must be a very appreciable part in the sum total of the services rendered all over the world for the same cause.

We do not know what the next fifty years may bring forth, but it is reasonably certain that the ideas and ideals which we cherish will advance, and I venture to express the hope that when the *Nation*, fifty years hence, is having its centennial celebration, the ideas and ideals of international justice, and a better intercourse between nations, will have become not merely visions and ideas, but something of a reality in the national life.

I realize there are few of us present here to-night who will live long enough to see that event, but this shortcoming of human life need not discourage us from continuing to wish and to work for the realization of ideals and ideas, which we all cherish close to our hearts. It is sufficient for us to know that our labor will bear fruits, though we ourselves may not be able to enjoy them. It is sufficient for us to know that our work will attain the results for which it is planned, and that our children and our children's children can enjoy those fruits.

Hon. Edwin Vernon Morgan

MR. CHAIRMAN and gentlemen: I find myself at a disadvantage, compared with my colleague, his Excellency, the representative from China, because he represents but one republic, although that chances to be the largest and most populous of all the republics, while I am expected to speak and explain the ways and habits and the performances and ideals of twenty of them. That is altogether more than I can possibly do. Furthermore, I am at the disadvantage of being a representative in one of them, and not of one of them; consequently, what I have to say to you about South America you must take in the spirit of Mr. Dick, whom you will all remember as an interesting character in "David Copperfield." Mr. Dick had a delightful habit of constantly, in his conversation, referring to the head of the late lamented Charles the First, and I find that although I have the honor of serving my Government for ten years in South America and the Caribbean, with a short episode into Portugal, and although I have had the honor and pleasure of representing my country in those parts of the world during the last five years, I invariably think of South America in terms of Brazil; so that as South America is so immense, as it is so unknown, and as it is so varied, what I have to say to-night will centre itself largely on a brief description of the genesis of the feeling which is gradually developing in South America in regard to the participation in the great world struggle for democracy and liberty in which we have recently come forward to take our legitimate part.

When the war broke out, I had already been in Brazil for some little time and had a certain impression of what the South American mind was. When the war broke out, instantly, all over South America there was a great response to the appeal of France. There was a response to the appeal of England; but, if you remember your history, you will remember that the genesis of liberal thought came to South America from France, rather than from England or the United States. At the moment when the colonies of Spain were feeling about towards freedom, were thinking about asserting their individuality, and acquiring their identity, the French writers and thinkers and the events of the French Revolution were permeating the literary thought of liberal minds; consequently those were the thoughts that came to the liberal and intelligent and progressive minds in South America; and therefore it was the inspiration of France which directly inspired the various movements which resulted in the establishment of individuality among the nations of South America.

Brazil, of course, was in a peculiar position. Brazil was at that time suffering from the same difficulties which Portugal was suffering from, because Portugal and Brazil were one. As a result of the invasion of Portugal by France, the Portuguese royal family transferred itself from Portugal

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to Brazil, and for the moment Portugal was in Brazil; so that Brazil stayed in a somewhat separate position. When I speak about the liberal ideas of France engendered by the great French writers and thinkers, I am now referring, of course, to the Spanish colonies, which, you will remember, broke away from Spain before Brazil established her individuality, in the year 1822, when the Portuguese royal family returned to Portugal, resumed the Portuguese throne, and one branch remained in Brazil, there to continue to rule and to govern until the revolution occurred in 1889.

I am speaking, however, primarily of the spirit of France, which permeated the liberal thought of South America and brought independence and individuality to the greater portion of that great continent. I always resent the implication that South Americans like Paris, like France, for her gayety, brilliancy, attraction, and charm; they do like her for all those qualities, just as we like her; but the great forceful result and effort of France is produced through her liberal writers and her liberal thinkers who gave the South Americans their independence and individuality, to which Great Britain has contributed also. Great Britain has contributed largely in the way of public improvements, public utilities, railways, and various other things, out of which the South Americans have made their fortunes and have established their position in the world. The United States has contributed something, and our writers and thinkers also contributed, just as much as the French did; but they came rather later than the French influence.

Now, of late years, we have done something for South America, and those of us who are working there are struggling to do very much more, and to bring our influence to bear upon her for general improvement and uplifting; but, at the moment when this great war in Europe started, it was France that all our sympathy went out to. There was in connection with this burst of sympathy, this natural constancy towards and appreciation of France and England and the other Allies, the feeling that the war was so far away; that the issues had peculiar local characterizations, and that consequently the South Americans had better remain out of it as long as they possibly could. There was also a very strong feeling for what one might call continental peace solidarity, that is, the whole continent of America had peace, in distinction from practically the continent of Europe at war. That was a very strong feeling, which kept back any tendency which there may have been towards an actual participation on the part of any South American countries in the war.

These countries can contribute very little in the war in the way of men or materials; their efforts and their exertions were not comparable with those of even the smaller Powers in Europe, and therefore their material assistance was not able to be forthcoming; they did, however, give the Allies moral support, and let it rest there. However, all the time there was a feeling increasing and augmenting that something ought to be done besides simply expressing sympathy in words; and that matter came to the front and was called out, as emphasized by a really very distinguished orator and statesman, Dr. Ruy Barbosa. You remember his name as one who came to the fore at the Second Hague Conference, when he made a very long and somewhat exhausting, yet extremely brilliant, appeal for the South American Conference. Dr. Barbosa was also appointed Special Ambassador at the Centennial of the first Argentine Constitution, which was signed at the city of Du Camman in 1816. Dr. Barbosa was accredited as Special Ambassador for that, and he availed himself, much to the horror and embarrassment of the Government that had accredited him, while serving in that exalted position, of the opportunity to address a literary society in Buenos Aires, and delivered an oration which was filled to the brim and overflowing with the most spirited and impressive and impassioned appeal that all the South American countries should actively participate in the war and should cast out the tyrants who were oppressing human liberty in Europe. That was a very stirring and striking episode, which undoubtedly is at the bottom of the present movement, which, since the delivery of that oration last September, has been spreading all over South America, urging the South Americans to come forward and stand for liberty, democracy, and coöperation.

The spirit of coöperation is, of course, one that we need very much in the Americas. It is one which has hitherto been prevented by boundary disputes, by the natural barriers that are set up by the Cordillera and the Andes, by the vast distances, and by a thousand different reasons; but the spirit of coöperation and coördination has been growing in South America of late, as those of you who have been studying the question of the treaty which has been arranged, the A B C treaty, between Argentina, Brazil, and Chili, will observe. That can be taken as an indication. Naturally, this coöperative action begins among the great Powers, and from them will spread down to the smaller Powers; so that the spirit of coöperation, which we hope the war is going to bring to all of us, is already born in South America and will extend without doubt. If the South American people find themselves that they can enter the war, and their circumstances are such that they can make a real contribution in men and arms and the other contributions that the Allies desire them to make, that will be a good thing; but even if they do not, there is now at the present moment in South America that spirit of cooperation which to me is one of the most necessary of all the spirits that we, either in Europe or in America, should foster and maintain.

Now, the other principle which has been touched upon in our chairman's address, and which has also been mentioned by the other gentlemen who have addressed us, is the spirit of democracy. That, at the present moment, I have less hope for in South America than I have for certain other things, simply because a democracy really does not exist there to any great extent. South America is made up of a collection of oligarchies; it is an oligarchy of families; it is an oligarchy of political groups, as it is in political Brazil; it is an oligarchy of one thing and another; it has not really the spirit of democracy as we want to believe it exists in the world, and as we try in a feeble sort of way to make it a reality among us. So, if the South Americans, either by force of arms or by the spirit which will be born among them by war, shall gain this spirit of democracy, then, with the spirit of coöperation which is already there, we shall find developing in South America the same hope that we have expressed to-night in regard to the results of this great conflict in the upbuilding and regeneration of the world. And I want to ask all of you to take a kindly interest in my South America. I myself take an enormous interest in it, and I think that when the war is over more of you will be going down there, and we will try and have an exchange of professors and of intellec-

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tual bodies. We will try and quicken the whole intellect to action between the north continent and the south continent, for that is the basis on which the real expansion of pan-Americanism exists. Pan-Americanism can never be fostered by commerce. It can only be fostered by half a dozen various things that we are trying to foster, upon which we can only have an intellectual rapprochement, such as we have when Dr. Moore visits us, or when Ruy Barbosa, or a man of his calibre, comes to North America—then we shall get real Pan-Americanism, we shall get the Pan-Americanism of intellect, of intelligence, and of heart.

Prof. B. E. Shatsky

MR. CHAIRMAN and gentlemen: I do not wish to conceal from you, just coming to this country, that I am not very familiar with the English language. At any rate, if I should try to do so, I think you would discover that at once for yourselves. For the man who is obliged to speak in a foreign tongue, there are just two ways open. One is to read a carefully prepared written statement, and the second is to be not afraid of some mistakes and to speak with an open heart and to try and make himself understood. Perhaps you will forgive me and perhaps you will not forget me if I shall choose the second way.

Mr. Chairman, a new Russia has been born now. It would be rather better to say a new Russia *is* born now. The year 1917 for Russia means just the same as the year 1776 meant for the United States, and the Russian people hope that in this year, which is the year of the cradle of Russian liberty, we shall find the sympathy and the assistance of the American people. We depend not only for American material assistance, for American capital, but we depend also for the American organizing genius and for the American democratic ideas.

I am very happy to say that I can greet you in the name of a man who is now representing all shades of the public opinion in Russia, the President of the State Duma, Mr. Rodzianko, and Professor Milyukov authorized me to tell you of the best wishes of this man for the perfection of closer relations between Russia and the United States.

Let me tell you frankly and quite privately—you have read in the papers, I suppose, that Germany is now going to propose a separate peace with Russia. Knowing not only the spirit of the new Russian Government, but also the spirit of Russian democracy, I can positively assure you that no separate peace in any circumstance is possible for Russian democracy. Never could this revolution in Russia have been so bloodless and so glorious if the plain people in Russia, if the average man in the street in Russia, had not been convinced that the victory was impossible with the old, ineffective Government. And this revolution was made for the sake of the war, and not against the war.

I must tell you, gentlemen, that among the elements which built up the new Russia one of the important places was taken by a man who represented the intellectual life in Russia. Also the professors, the teachers, took up the very difficult and possibly dangerous task of educating the plain people in Russia; and I am very happy to say that they performed their duty with the consciousness of their responsibility, and I am very happy—perhaps for this reason—to speak now before this audience, which consists also of the representatives of the intellectual life in the United States, and say my best wishes are for the United States, and the publication which represents the serious and the idealistic part in the American press.

President Charles F. Thwing

IT has been a great half-century. It has been the half-century of Eliot, the pioneer of our educational evolution; of William T. Harris, the philosopher in leadership; of Daniel Coit Gilman, the prophet and the apostle of the university. It has been the half-century of the laying of such foundations as Vassar and other outstanding colleges for women, of Cornell, of Johns Hopkins, of Leland Stanford, and of the University of Chicago. It has been the half-century of inauguration, under the great Morrill act of 1862, of the marvellous system of universities of the individual commonwealths. It has been the half-century of the growth of educational societies, of the discussion and application of educational theories, rising unto systems of thought, or falling into fads. It has been the half-century in which the higher education, embodied in university and college, has come into organized self-consciousness.

To each and to all of these foundations and movements the *Nation* has given interpretation or appreciation or critical heed. But through all the editorial utterances, favoring or adverse, has run a consistent and prevailing note. It is the note that the higher education represents the enrichment of the human spirit. It is the note which such human and humanistic masters as Emerson, Ruskin, Carlyle, and Matthew Arnold have set. It stands, as was said, in one of the last numbers for the years 1869, for "culture" as "a supreme necessity" "for all."* It represents "a certain tone of mind, a certain way of looking at things, a certain amount of receptivity, and a useful acquaintance with the relative sum of a man's own powers and acquirements."† It means acquaintance with scientific modes of reasoning and an adjustment to practical concerns in a large spirit. It means idealism.

The need of such idealism in America is dire. For in an April number of 1867, it is said:

> The literary taste and literary wants of the country are undoubtedly improving, and have improved greatly—how greatly any one can see who takes the trouble to compare the American books and periodicals of to-day with the American books and periodicals of forty years ago, or the Congressional speeches over which most people now laugh with the Congressional speeches reported in *Nile's Register*, over which nobody laughed. In fact, the intellectual needs of the population change every year. Success in any field of literature or art or science is every year more difficult, and every author and orator and artist feels every year the edge of a sharper and more exacting criticism. There is no question that the popular craving for the highest culture, or the popular respect for it and appreciation of its value, does not increase in the ratio of the national growth in other directions. The class of men of the highest culture bears a smaller proportion to-day to the total population, we venture to say—although this is an assertion which there is no means of proving—than it has borne at any other period. In three things—population, material wealth, and mechanical skill—our progress for twenty or thirty years has been very rapid, so rapid that nothing else has been able to keep pace with it.‡

*The *Nation*, vol. 9, 558, "The Tale of the 'Ripe Scholar.'" Dec. 23, 1869.
†The *Nation*, vol. 8, 451, "University Influence." June 10, 1869.
‡The *Nation*, vol. 4, 275, "What is the Use of College Education?" April 4, 1867.

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The idealism for which the *Nation* has argued and has pleaded in all these years manifests itself in several and diverse ways.

One form of the showing lies in the emphasis placed on the teacher as the most important part of the higher educational movement and system. To get and to keep great teachers represents the most difficult and delicate as well as serious work of the university. Poor professors are a structural weakness. Professors and not buildings represent the essential and ultimate content and force of the higher education. Men of vision, of faith, of great-heartedness, contributing to large-mindedness, represent the type. The retirement of Woodberry and of MacDowell from Columbia illustrates the difficulty of the task and certain sad features of our life, general as well as academic. The teacher who has inspiration as well as knowledge, who has the human touch as well as the ability to open the book, embodies the ideal and suggests the method. The spirit, humanistic as well as human, is the atmosphere which should blow through all college halls. Trade winds are altogether too constant and strong! To reach this conclusion, permanence of tenure represents a method, a method which has been beset in various ways and at various times in these years. The super-professorate, the professor who is more than the subject he professes, embodies a custom which ought to prevail. Shailers have their place. The superfluous is more necessary at times than the necessary. Select minds are the choicest product, as well as the most effective methods of promoting the great quest. "Not bricks," as the *Nation* once said, even though they be glazed, "but men and books, constitute a university."* This idealism for which the *Nation* has pleaded is an idealism represented by thinking, and again thinking.

This high idealism is also seen in the arguments, through the numbers of all these years, for scholarship, for pure scholarship. Honors for scholarship, technical and formal, are to be promoted, as well as the atmosphere of scholarship to be nourished. The policy of thoroughness is to prevail. The dangers of superficialism, of thinness, are to be avoided by rooting the plant in a soil wide, deep, rich. The enemy of scholarship, athletics, is to be fettered, if not subdued, its field of operations narrowed, and its activity within this field lessened. Education is to have cerebral, and not manual, value. It is to be made practical in the largest, highest sense, not the narrowest. Degrees, as tokens of scholarship, are to connote the highest meaning, and to represent great labor, rich opportunity, proper appliance, and noble condition. Scholarship should have chief value for the student. *Disce aut discede* is to be the motto and rule—a motto which colleges are inclined not to follow and a rule which they are inclined to fail to enforce.

The value of this great quest in idealism is seen also in the support given to the higher measures of administration and of education. The *Nation* has always either made fun of or argued against the college president as a money-getter. It has supported him as standing for ideas, and for ideals as well as for dollars. It has held up a high standard of the obligations which college men assume in a democratic community. It has supported the small college as standing for things of the mind. It has argued in favor of the French form as opposed to the German formlessness or substance. It has argued for laboratories in classics, as well as for laboratories in chemistry. It has pleaded for the Socratic thinking as opposed to the narrow practical interpretation. It has appealed for ideas. It has argued for the extra year of the college course as either an attainment or a repentance. Of course, its voice has been clear and strong against every form of the charlatan and of his nefarious graft. It has represented the noblest practical culture as opposed to service.

Because the culture which our colleges supplied, and which too many of them still supply, was weak, thin, and unsuitable, it was easy to depreciate all culture. By culture we mean development, not polish or adornment, though these are its natural and by no means useless belongings. Using the word, then, in this sense, culture is with us a supreme necessity, not for the profit of a few, but of all. The presence of minds highly and vigorously developed is the most powerful aid to popular education, and the necessary condition of its best success. In the country where the ruling power is public opinion, it is above all things necessary that the best and maturest thought should have a fair share in forming it. Such thought cannot exist in any force in the community without propagating its own image, and a class of strong thinkers is the palladium of democracy. They are the natural enemies of all that is worst in the popular heart. They are sure of the hatred of charlatans, demagogues, and political sharpers. They are the only hope of our civilization; without them it is a failure, a mere platitude of mediocrity, stagnant or turbid, as the case may be. The vastest aggregate of average intelligences can do nothing to supply their place, and even material growth is impeded by an ignorance of its conditions and laws. If we may be forgiven the metaphor, our civilization is at present a creature with a small and feeble head, a large, muscular, and active body, and a tail growing at such a rate that it threatens to become unmanageable and shake the balance of the vital powers.

Through such a three-fold method, through the value of the teacher, through the promotion of scholarship, through the support of all forces, many and diverse, of administration as well as of education, the right results of and in high idealism are secured. They are results which make for the integration and the salvation of the American and the world's community. Both the need, and the result of filling the need in the future, immediate and remote, are of the greatest significance. The appreciation of the want should be the deepest, and the filling of the want is sure to bring the richest conclusions.

Matthew Arnold said, many years ago, that the lower social classes of England were becoming brutalized, the middle sensualized, and the higher materialized. Does a like peril obtain in America? If it does, the peril of the higher classes becoming materialized has, for a half century, been vastly diminished by the noble idealistic spirit shown in the interpretation, appreciation, and criticism of education which the great journal whose Golden Jubilee we celebrate has given to the whole community. It has helped America to know that it has a soul, and that this soul may become more virile and more commanding through education.

*The *Nation*, vol. 9, 558, "The Tale of the 'Ripe Scholar.'" Dec. 23, 1869.

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The Nation

April 26, 1917

Section III.

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SPEAKERS' TABLE—LEFT TO RIGHT

Charles F. Thwing, President Western Reserve University; Oswald Garrison Villard, Owner of The Nation; Hon. Edwin Vernon Morgan, American Ambassador to Brazil; His Excellency V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to the United States; Hon. John Bas
Moore; Harold de Wolf Fuller, Editor The Nation; The Marquess of Aberdeen; Rollo Ogden, Editor The Evening Post; Marcel Knecht, Delegate, French National Committee; B. Shatsky, Professor in The University of Petrograd

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